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JOHN ALEXANDER POPE
Freer Gallery of Art
1943-1971
Director-1962-1971

FOREWORD

FIFTY YEARS AGO THERE WAS OPENED IN WASHINGTON, D.C. a unique gallery of art and treasure house, the avowed purpose of which was the promotion of the finest ideals of beauty as seen in the civilizations of the East. It was the gift of Charles Lang Freer; and his foresight and perseverance in enlightening what, at that time, was a young and provincial nation in terms of art and his concern for a vital area of the world then only slightly known to the United States are to be lauded. His gift was magnanimous and one of the first major presentations of art to the people of the United States. The custodians of that gift represented by the Smithsonian Institution have through the years watched the Gallery's growth and its assumption of a leading role in the art of the East. The half century has been one of great happiness for not only Mr. Freer's dream but that of the Smithsonian Institution has come true. The Freer Gallery of Art is without peer. Its collections, research programs, publications, and public role have all flourished. The accomplishments of the fifty years are not treasured memories, they are alive.

Ars Orientalis is a joint publication of the Gallery and the University of Michigan. The first volume was published in 1954 and it filled the gap caused by the demise of *Ars Islamica* which had been issued from 1934 to 1951.

In contrast with previous issues of *Ars Orientalis* the contributions in this Jubilee year volume are about, or relate directly to, objects in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. We celebrate our anniversary and at the same time also dedicate this volume to the superb achievements of our recently retired Director, Dr. John Alexander Pope, who served the Gallery for 28 years and guided its destiny from 1962 to 1971. His great contribution to the growth and integrity of the collection as well as that of those who preceded him can never be forgotten. With this volume we rededicate ourselves to the beauty and civilizations of the East and the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.

DR. HAROLD P. STERN
Director
Freer Gallery of Art

ON SOME CATEGORIES OF ARCHAISM IN CHINESE BRONZE

BY WILLIAM WATSON*

A SERIES OF ANALYSES RECENTLY MADE IN Oxford at the Research Laboratory of Archaeology and the History of Art showed that a large group of archaistic bronzes contains a high proportion of zinc, while archaistic pieces of apparent earlier date, and the true antique, contain no more than two or three per cent of this metal at the most.¹ But with this metallurgical horizon established, the question of the historical evolution of archaism remains little changed for the historian of style.

Broadly speaking the boundary between negligible zinc and considerable zinc lies between the Sung period and the fifteenth century. The experimental evidence shows that absence of zinc is no sure criterion, for some pieces belonging by their style to the high-zinc group lack this ingredient. The sequence and relation of distinct groups of archaistic work, and of the considerable number of pieces which are tacitly or explicitly relegated to a limbo of uncertain attribution, appear as problematic as they were before the light of systematic excavation and technical analysis could be thrown upon it. In our case the reason lies less in the obscurantism of collectors and curators which Jung Keng 容庚 castigates² than

possibly in failure to formulate the question adequately in terms of an evolving context of minor arts and in comparison with the increasingly well-charted period and regional classes of pre-Han bronzes. The rubrics under which it is proposed to discuss a number of archaistic vessels, or vessels suspected of archaism, are not exhaustive or systematic in the distinctions they make. They segregate some important speculative points and are offered in the hope of endowing the observation of archaism, conceived as a specific and developing movement, with a cumulative import for the history of art which it has hitherto lacked. The divisions followed below are:

1. Cast ornament in close imitation
2. Cast ornament in anachronistic combination
3. Cast interlaced ornament
4. Ornament influenced by book illustration
5. Inlaid ornament in close imitation
6. Inlaid ornament freely developed from the antique
7. The decorative tradition

1. *Cast ornament in close imitation*

Despite the powerful traditionalism present in all the Chinese arts, only unimportant phases of archaism occur before the Northern Sung, if by archaism we understand a sentimental return to the past, with an antiquarian care for accuracy, but a loss of the stylistic sense that assured purpose and cohesion in the original. The official art of Han as it is preserved in the lacquers

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¹ Sir Harry Garner, "The Composition of Chinese Bronzes," *Oriental Art*, vol. 6, no. 4 (n.s. 1960), pp. 3-8. Here the question of zinc in Ming bronze is discussed briefly. The analytic evidence for zinc in archaistic bronze is being prepared for publication.

² Jung Keng, *Shang Chou yi-ch'i t'ung-k'ao* 商周彝器通考 (Peking, 1941), p. 226.

was such a phase, and some shapes of the earliest Yüeh stoneware suggest another. But a fully realized archaism is first encountered towards the end of the eleventh century, initially in bronzework. It is from this phase of archaism rather than from the true antique that subsequent archaism derives. There is evidence of an effort made at the start to achieve facsimile reproduction of the antique. Possibly some work of this kind survives undetected; but slavish imitation was not the chief goal of the movement, any more than incomparable archaism of other traditions. In any case it is likely that the faker, if he existed distinguishably from the craftsman working in the archaistic idiom, imitated the product of palace antiquarianism rather than genuine ancient bronze, so that one may say, together with the painting historians of the Princeton school, that the copy is hardly inferior to the original for the purposes of this enquiry.

Under Hui-tsung, at the Emperor's personal instigation, accuracy of imitation was the goal:

"As soon as the Office for Ceremonial was established a decree went forth that ancient vessels should be sought for throughout the empire, in order the more effectively to control the shapes of the ritual vessels *tsun* 尊, *chüeh* 爵, and *ting* 鼎. Later an office for Regulating Ceremonial was set up in the Editorial Office for Imperial Writings, whereupon the vessels used in the sacrifice to Heaven greatly increased their antiquity."³

A later account is more explicit:

³ *Sung shih* 宋史, *Li chih* 禮志.

"In the Cheng-ho 政和 period year *kuei-ssu* 癸巳 [A.D. 1113], the Emperor obtained a *lei* 罍 of Chou date at Hao-ching 鎬京; in the autumn he secured a *yu* 卣 of Shang, and a *ssu tui* 兕敦 at Ch'ang-an 長安; he also obtained a yellow-eyed *tsun* 尊 at Ling-tu 凌都. Afterwards he returned to Yu-yen 幽燕 and obtained an ancient precious-jade *tsun* which had been stolen by Yeh-lü Te-kuang 耶律德光, in shape resembling a golden-eyed *tsun*, gleaming and flawless. No one at the court knew the use to which it should be put. The Emperor alone recognized that it was a libation goblet [*tsun*], such, in fact, as was greatly valued in Chou times. He ordered the officials in charge of ceremonial to see that the vessels used at the Altar of Heaven were made in ancient style and all of auspicious jade. Therefore authentic knowledge of the sacrifices of the ancients went even beyond the use of jade tables, jade *chüeh*, and jade *tou* 豆. In the following year a *ch'un* 罇 was obtained, and three months afterwards a precious *kuei* 簋. The Emperor, as receiving the command of Heaven, modelling his government of the Three Dynasties, as student of the Way of the ancients and of the Four Great Portents, whose virtue is manifest in the sacrificial vessels, namely the vessels used in the sacrifice to Heaven, at the Altar of Earth, in sacrifice at the Temple of the Imperial Ancestors and at the Temple of the Imperial Parent: commanded our predecessors in the Office of Ceremonial to manufacture and regulate anew the vessels of the house of Sung, responding duly to the claims of Shang and Chou [*p'i hsiu Shang Chou* 匹休商周], inscribing merit for recommendation to all the gods and ancestors, ac-

curately in every particular [*wang yu fu ko* 岡有弗格]. Then at a stroke was swept away the corruption introduced by the unfounded speculation of Han and T'ang scholars, and after a myriad generations the regulation of the sacrificial vessels of the Three Dynasties was at last understood, and the records of the Six Classics no longer were an empty letter."⁴

While such passages leave in no doubt the zeal with which the true antique, as it was understood, was pursued, it is also clear that the manufacture of copies was in the hands of officials charged with the regulation of ceremonial. These did not necessarily share the scientific inspiration of the authors of the *K'ao-ku t'u* 考古圖 of 1092, or the *Hsüan-ho po-ku t'u-lu* 宣和博古圖錄, whose compilation seems to have immediately preceded the imperial acquisitiveness and decree recorded above. The breviary of the ceremonialists was the *Chou li* 周禮, where the "yellow sacrificial vessel" is glossed "yellow-eyed *tsun*" (named above as an imperial find), and the *Li chi* 禮記, where "yellow-eyed" is explained as referring to gold inlaid on the outside of the vessel in the shape of eyes. None of this receives support from bronzes of proven antiquity.

Among the surviving bronze vessels traditionally believed to have belonged to Hui-tsung's reign and to have been preserved with others of the collection formed in the Hsüan-ho Palace, at least one piece may be affirmed a product of that time. This is a *tsun* furnished with an inscription in antique

character and couched in ancient language (*fig. 1*):

"In the 3rd year of Hsüan-ho [A.D. 1121] on the day *hsin-ch'ou* 辛丑 of the first month, the Emperor, imitating the antique, made a *shan-tsun* 山尊 . . ."

After a few words illegible in the reproduction comes the stereotyped exhortation to descendants to treasure the vessel. The characters of the inscription have the ductus of the Western Chou period. The title used for the emperor is *huang-ti* 皇帝, a bold word in this context. The term *shan-tsun*, "mountain ritual goblet," appears not to be supported by inscriptions on surviving bronzes of pre-Han date, but it occurs in the *Chou li* (when we may infer that it was current at least as early as the third century B.C.) and is there assigned a role as the ritual vessel of Yü 禹, the founder of the Hsia Dynasty. Under the influence of the *Chou li* and other ritual manuals, the earlier phase of Sung antiquarianism had an inevitable preoccupation with the Hsia Dynasty, in a manner reminiscent of the Trojan obsessions of some Tudor antiquarians. Even in Hui-tsung's reign, the supposed archaeological evidences of Hsia were under debate. Vessels are attributed to Hsia by Lü Ta-lin 呂大臨 in 1092, but the category of Hsia is omitted from the *Po-ku t'u-lu*, or at least from the revised edition of this work which appeared in the 1120s. It is appropriate that this mountain-*tsun*, an essay in a supposed Hsia style, should have been cast in 1121. It is perhaps significant that the text translated above speaks of the Three Dynasties but specifies only Shang and Chou.

In its decoration the *shan-tsun* presents us with an interesting rehandling of the antique design. While all the subordinate motifs are reasonably accurate, the panelled

⁴ Ti Ch'i-nien 翟耆年 of Yüan, in his *Hui-tsung huang-ti ssu huan-ch'iu fang-chey t'ai-miao ming-t'ang li-ch'i k'uan-shih* 徽宗皇帝祀圜丘方澤太廟明堂禮器寮識, as quoted by Jung Keng, *Shang Chou*, p. 183.

structure of the middle and lower parts is unprecedented: the fragmented *t'ao-t'ieh* 饕餮 had never appeared thus behind prison bars. There is still feeling for the angular rigor of the antique, and no hint in the main design of the curve and twirl which eventually invade the archaistic style. But respect for archaic ferocity breaks down at the vertical flanges, and there tripping curves are substituted for the correct angular hooks.

The effort made towards authentic design under Hui-tsung is as likely to have led to the production of antiquarian inventions as to have arrived at the true antique, yet the relation of the ornament of the *shan-tsun* to ancient design suggests that at least part of the new vessels made on the Emperor's instructions allowed only a deliberate, a limited deviation from ancient models; and if they were not facsimiles they were still not extravaganzas. Some vessels stored in the Palace Museum, ostensibly descended from the early collection and hitherto unquestioned, are distinguished from the typical product of the Western Chou period by features which indicate decline of artistic sensibility, or a readiness to experiment, in just the spirit of the ornament used on the dated *tsun*. To this class belongs even the *Nieh jen p'an* 矢人盤, famous for its long inscription. In terms of late Shang or early Chou style the developed linear *t'ao-t'ieh* on the foot-ring of this piece is incongruent with that of the sides of the bowl, where one of the extended figures abstracted from the *k'uei* 夔 dragon is given mannered treatment more akin to vegetable ornament.

In the case of the *hu* 壺 illustrated in

⁵ *The Chinese Exhibition. A Commemorative Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art, 1935-36*, no. 95.

figure 2 the incongruities of detail in the ornament raise the probability of archaism to certainty.⁵ The scheme of confronted birds as adopted in the first reigns of the Western Chou period typically shows the heads *reverted* and not facing as they do here. The design is to be seen on a *yu* in the mannered transitional style, on a *chih* 觚 in the British Museum, and on the *kuei* excavated at Hai-tao ying-tzu 海島營子 in Jehol. In none of these are the birds combined with dragon-derived figures, such as surround them here, which belong properly to the later part of the Western Chou and appear in their most evolved forms on Hsin-ts'un 辛村 bronzes. In comparison with excavated pieces, the archaistic misunderstanding of the rhythms of the ancient design is very plain. There is an *unmotivated* attachment of dragon heads to the abstract figures (the head on the decoration of the foot-rim is particularly absurd) and a misconceived use of the figures to fill areas which are not delimited geometrically in the manner essential to the original style. The ground of *lei-wen* 雷紋 is inappropriate to the abstract figures, if not to the birds, while the frivolous invention seen in the dentated band at the top makes a particularly painful discord. No better example could be found of the failure to seize a style while employing its most characteristic motifs. It would not be difficult to multiply examples of bronze vessels whose incogruities strongly suggest archaism of this order when they are placed in the expanded context of ancient style provided by recent excavations at Hsin-ts'un, Feng-hsi 豐西, Shang-ts'un-ling 上村嶺, Shan-piao Chen 山彪鎮, etc. Since it embraces the inferior and the provincial, this excavated material is particularly valuable in showing the full permutations of asso-

ciated motifs. One aspect of the ornament cast on the *hu* of figure 2 is its anachronistic combination of motifs, a feature kept in this case within fairly close limits, but which deserves to be put in a distinct class as a criterion of archaism.

2. *Cast ornament in anachronistic combination*

The argument of anachronism presupposes that comparable miscollocations of motifs did not occur in antiquity. It is striking that excavated material, which offers the only hope of escape from a vicious circle of attributions, appears to include no instance of deliberate archaism of the degree considered here. The main ornament of the *Ch'i-hou-kuei* 齊侯簋 (Marquis Ch'i *kuei*) (fig. 3) represents a version of multiple dragons which must be subsequent to analogous designs cast on bronze excavated at Liu-li-ko 琉璃閣, where they are not earlier than the mid-fifth century B.C.⁶ This continuous system of ornament does not appear anywhere on a pedestal *kuei* of this characteristic Western Chou type. The dragon figures on the foot-rim of the bowl and at the corners of the pedestal are of tenth-ninth-century design, the corolla on the lid repeats an idea found on *hu* of the early Huai style (though there they have six petals and *ajouré* in keeping with the scrolled diaper of the main fields) but encloses a coiled dragon of the pre-Huai tradition; and the handles conflate a number of early elements, but in unparalleled and improbable combination. The finish of the bronze is no less significant: its minutely accented surface reflects the carving of a wax model rather than the result of direct casting.

⁶ Kuo Pao-chün 郭寶鈞, *Shan-piao Chen yü Liu-li-ko* 山彪鎮與琉璃閣 (Peking, 1959), pls. 60 ff.

In copying the antique a predilection for the broader style of Western Chou ornament over the technically more exacting closer design of Shang and Huai is understandable. The handles attached to the *Ch'i-hou-kuei* are a variation of those classically represented on the Sung *kuei* of the late ninth century B.C., where they mark an intelligible development from those, for example, of the *K'ang-hou-kuei* 康侯簋.⁷ A skillful pedestal *kuei* belonging to the collection of the Cernuschi Museum, with handles of this kind, has cast on the interior of the bowl a single character of the Shang ductus, which constitutes an anachronism, though not one of a kind that can be paralleled on bronzes where other evidence for archaistic copying is present. Two vessels employing the broad-band dragon abstractions and wave design of the ninth-eighth century are so singular in other anachronistic respects that they must be suspected as archaistic productions. One is a *tsun* in the Wessén collection, a shape not associated with this type of ornament at Shang-ts'un-lin and occurring at Hsin-ts'un only in a tomb of the earliest division (10th century B.C.), with the appropriate earlier ornament.⁸ The other piece is an abandoned experiment in *chih* form (fig. 4). For all its Han-like cica-das, archaism of this kind finds no place in Han material as known to date.

The finest work of pronounced anachronism is seen in the bird *tsun* of the Freer Gallery (figs. 5 and 6). The casting yields little to antique quality, and unusual understanding is displayed in handling each

⁷ W. Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes* (London, 1962), pl. 40b.

⁸ B. Karlgren and J. Wirgin, *Chinese Bronzes. The Natanael Wessén Collection* (Stockholm, 1969), pls. 19, 20.

passage of period ornament. The head is in evolved Huai style, consistently carried through with the exception of the undulations behind the "ears." The greater part of the body is covered with impeccable Li Yü 李峪 meander, complete with dragon heads, claw-like projections and filling of spirals, hooks, etc., while parts of the wings are formed of imbricated elements filled with alternating designs of dragon heads in late Western Chou style and linear figures which originate in Shang. The whole revives the concept of zoomorphic *tsun* of late Shang date, and by its very perfection, anachronism apart, might call some of these attributions in question. The *tsun* of figure 7 is a modest antiquarian invention: a shape more at home in Western Han than middle Chou, but decorated with the whorl motif which survived from the Shang period until the late Western Chou, when it was frequently combined with the broad-band dragon abstractions. In the antique version it is on the neck or shoulder of *ting* and *lei* and, with rare exceptions, is formed on a low boss.

The pedestal *kuei* illustrated in figure 8 introduces incongruities of style that strongly suggest archaistic experiment. The invention extends to the detail of motifs inconceivable in the context of the early decades of the Chou period to which the designs ostensibly belong, while their suave treatment allies them to vessels we have suspected above of being late archaistic products rather than to Western Chou work, even the most eccentric. Thus the *naturalized* design of the eyes of the bovine masks, the application in this context of the double-bodied snake around the foot-rim of the bowl, the absurdly projecting boucrania on the sides midway between the handles, the

bird-heads added on the handles below the monster masks (presumably intended to make sense of the bird-like forms which normally completed the handles of this type), the oddly invented masks at the middle of the pedestal sides which make use of the crescents that are otherwise known only in sets of four attached to a roundel—all these features depart from ancient models in a degree comparable to the treatment adopted in the *shan-tsun* of figure 1. The convention of monster head set over a bird's body which constituted the handles of *kuei* of early Western Chou date was naturally mystifying, and it would occur to later imitators of the motif to rationalize it by substituting a bird's head. Well-known pieces on which this has been done, the shape of the head resembling the phoenix of a later age, are *kuei* in the Palace Museum⁹ (fig. 9) and in the Freer Gallery, both hitherto attributed to the early tenth century B.C. In this case the bird-heads of the handles contrast sharply with those of the paired birds of the early Chou convention which decorate the sides. In another instance, rather similar phoenix-like heads appear on the handles of a *tou* ostensibly attributable by its shape and by the broad-band style of its other decoration to the ninth century B.C.

3. *Cast interlaced ornament*

During the Western Chou period interlaced ornament occurs rarely and in particular contexts, being alien to the bird and dragon motifs and their derivations which constitute the dominant tradition. As in the Shang style, interlacing movement in design

⁹ *The Chinese Exhibition. A Commemorative Catalogue*, no. 48; published previously by the author as of Western Chou date.

is scrupulously avoided, although the characteristic development of linear forms might be expected to produce it very naturally. Two examples of interlacing which can be cited from the ninth-early eighth century B.C. fall clearly outside the broad-band dragon-derived figures. On a large *hu* in the Art Institute of Chicago the serpentine bodies of dragons interweave in the main field, being interpreted in a rounded relief distinct from the broad-band style; the latter appears typically in the upper field, in a variety of the wave motif.¹⁰ On the Hsin-ts'un bronzes dragon elements are occasionally made to cross in continuous systems, but this is far from ornament based upon interlaced curving lines. At the same site a harness bronze decorated in openwork with a figure recalling the interlaced snakes of the Chicago *hu* furnishes the exception which proves the rule, for it is isolated in a wide variety of the non-interlacing motifs.¹¹

In the light of these observations the *tsun* belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum (*fig. 10*) strikes at once a discordant note, for the birds' long crests are intertwined, and the whole design is given a circular motion foreign to the motif of large confronted birds. The metal is thin, of a yellowish color and asperity in the cast detail, which suffice to distinguish it from antique work. The vessel makes an instructive study of copy work. Divergence of detail from the ancient motif shows that

the design was redrawn, no doubt from ink squeezes, rather than transferred direct by moulding. Where parts of the design are invented afresh, uncertainty creeps in, notably in the filling elements of the crossed crests. Whereas an ancient *k'uei* dragon of the kind used flanking the boucranon in the neck is formed of a flat *band* divided down the middle by a narrow groove, in the archaistic piece the dragon is executed in narrow raised *line*, as if the shape were prepared for inlay. The inscription appears to be copied from an ancient original, showing the thickened line which transfer moulding would induce.

In a much rougher casting the archaistic predilection for interlaced ornament is seen on the *hu* of *figure 11* belonging to the Seligman collection, which has been published as ancient and as exemplifying an interesting departure in the handling of broad-band design.¹² But there is much in this piece which argues archaistic invention. The base of the triangles at the top has something of the inflexion seen in the corresponding feature of the *hu* of *figure 2*; the frightened-looking dragons of the second zone are not to be found in the ancient repertory; the noses of the dragons in the upper part of the main field have no right to turn into ducks' heads, etc. The main dragon figures interweave in sweeping curves, the placing of a relief mask in the middle of the design is anciently unattested, and there is anachronism in the form of the handles.

¹⁰ A *hu* resembling the one in the Art Institute of Chicago was recently unearthed in China: see *Wen-hua ko-ming ch'i-chien ch'u-t'u wen-wu* 文化革命期間出土文物 (Cultural objects excavated during the Cultural Revolution), vol. 1 (Peking, 1972), pl. 89. The excavators give the date as period of the Spring and Autumn Annals.

¹¹ Kuo Pao-chün, *Chiin-hsien Hsin-ts'un* 濬縣辛村 (Peking, 1964), pl. 37, 2.

¹² This *hu* was previously published by the author as of the 8th/7th century and used to illustrate the rise of the interlaced design. The principle is vindicated by such pieces as those referred to in notes 10 and 11 above.

4. *Ornament influenced by book illustration*

The artisan engaged in copying the antique, apart from a favored few, perhaps mainly in palace ateliers, is likely to have often taken a printed picture as his model. Illustrations which claimed to show the antique in its true forms existed from the publication of the *K'ao-ku t'u*. We perhaps may assume that pictures printed at the end of the Northern Sung period and now not extant, apart from mere simplification made in the interest of the block-carver, incorporated the same pictorial tendencies and vagaries as are seen in later illustration. Such pictures are inclined to substitute a curlicue effect for the more angular detail of ancient design; to separate the main motif more clearly from its accompaniment, which is then reduced to a ground of indeterminate lines; and to compensate for the loss in legibility through perspective drawing by distortion which rather increases the injustice done to the original. If we contend, with a recent writer,¹³ that the illustrations of the albums published under Che-tsung and Hui-tsung were not seriously affected by these faults, that still does not remove the possibility that their appearance led also to the circulation of inferior pictures on which copy work might be based. The tasteless illogic of the orna-

ment on the pottery copy of a bronze vessel shown on *figure 12* is surely only to be explained as coarsening and misunderstanding in carving picture blocks. Judging from the white porcelain with carved decoration which accompanied this piece in a vaulted brick tomb in Inner Mongolia, the dating to the Chin period proposed by the excavators is convincing, so that the copying of bronze in such loose manner may be placed within about a century at the most of the publication of the *Po-ku t'u-lu*. The same find included a pottery vase (*fig. 13*) on which designs derived from antique bronze are used with complete freedom, producing graceless but not disordered ornament. It is evidence that a decorative idiom was not established in which archaic motifs fitted, with their archaism hardly felt. Despite the remoteness of the find-place the bronze style represented by these two pottery vessels can only have been a metropolitan invention. But meanwhile a definable tradition of archaistic "ritual ornament" was forming which respected the integrity of archaic motifs, even when the execution betrayed influence of book illustration and of the purely decorative style which this illustration had fed. The *t'ao-t'ieh* and dragons of the *ting* of *figure 14* are latter-day products of this tradition, in a distinct if tired idiom whose origins must lie between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The inlaid *t'ao-t'ieh* on the *lei* of *figure 20* shows the same motif in an earlier, more sensitive version.

5. *Inlaid ornament in close imitation*

Both for its technical and its stylistic implication inlaid work should be considered apart because of an aberration which arose at the beginning of the archaistic movement. It appears that the produc-

¹³ R. Poor, "Notes on the Sung Dynasty Archaeological Catalogues," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. 19 (1965), p. 33 ff. The author is inclined to think that the bookish tendency in ornament arose in reproducing vessels, not through the effect of contemporary book illustration, since he cannot cite an early edition of a book with illustrations of the appropriately degenerate kind. He must have in mind a grosser degeneration than is discussed here, for he sees no sign of it in the Mongolian pots. The evidence of surviving editions of the Sung albums is not wholly satisfactory testimony in this instance.



FIG. 1.—Bronze *tsun*. Early twelfth century A.D.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 2.—Bronze *hu*. Twelfth century A.D. Height, 35 cm.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 3.—Bronze *kuei*. Twelfth century A.D.
Height, 35 cm. Inscribed by incision with the
name of the Marquis of Ch'i. British Museum.



FIG. 4.—Bronze *hu*. Probably twelfth century A.D.
Height, 40 cm. Formerly in the possession of C. T. Loo.





FIG. 5.—Bronze *tsun* shaped like a bird. Twelfth or early thirteenth century A.D. Height, 26.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, [61.30](#). Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer.



FIG. 6.—Details of the *tsun* shown in figure 5.



FIG. 7.—Bronze *tsun*. Twelfth or early thirteenth century A.D. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 8.—Bronze *kuei*. Twelfth century A.D. Height, 33 cm.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.



FIG. 9.—Bronze *kuei*. Probably twelfth century A.D.
Height, 15.5 cm. National Palacc Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 10.—Bronze *tsun*. Twelfth century A.D. Height, 22 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



FIG. 11.—Bronze *hu*. Twelfth or early thirteenth century A.D.
Height, 24.7 cm. Seligman Collection
(Arts Council of Great Britain).



FIG. 12.—Pottery *ting*. Twelfth or early thirteenth century A.D.
Height, 9 cm. Found at Lin-tung Chen 林東鎮,
Inner Mongolia. Cf. *Wen-wu* (1959), no. 7, p. 63 f.



FIG. 13.—Pottery bottle. Twelfth or early thirteenth
century A.D. Height, 25.5 cm. Found at Lin-tung Chen,
Inner Mongolia. Cf. *Wen-wu* (1959), no. 7, p. 63 f.



FIG. 14.—Detail of a bronze *ting*.
Sixteenth–seventeenth century A.D.
Collection of Miss J. M. Zarnecki.



FIG. 15.—Detail of a bronze *hu* inlaid with gold and silver.
Probably twelfth century A.D. Height of detail,
15.5 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



FIG. 16.—Bronze *huo* inlaid with gold and silver.
Twelfth century A.D. Height, 22.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, 09.254.



FIG. 17.—Bronze *tui* inlaid with copper, silver and malachite. Twelfth or early thirteenth century A.D. Height, 25.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, 11.81.



FIG. 18.—Bronze *ting*.
Probably twelfth century A.D.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 19.—Gilded foot of a bronze cauldron.
Twelfth century A.D. Height of foot, about 8 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



FIG. 20.—Bronze *lei* inlaid with gold and silver. Thirteenth or early fourteenth century A.D. Height, 54.6 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, 09.257.



FIG. 21.—Bronze *kuang* inlaid with gold and silver. Thirteenth or early fourteenth century A.D. Height, 21.3 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, 12.72.



FIG. 22.—Bronze vessel shaped like a goose, inlaid with gold and silver. Thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. Height, 19 cm. In the possession of Messrs. Sotheby's.



FIG. 23a.—Bronze *tou* inlaid with gold and silver.
Thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. Height, 24.7 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



FIG. 23b.—Lid of the *tou* shown in figure 23a.



FIG. 24.—Bronze *tou* inlaid with gold. Twelfth or early thirteenth century A.D. Height, 22 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



FIG. 25.—Bronze *kuei* inlaid with silver. Signed *Shih Sou*.
Late sixteenth century A.D. Height, 9.2 cm. Author's collection.



FIG. 26.—Bronze *ku* inlaid with silver. Signed *Shih Sou*.
Late sixteenth century A.D. Height, 15.6 cm. Author's collection.



FIG. 27.—Bronze tray. Seventeenth or eighteenth century A.D. Height, 14 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, 11.66.



FIG. 28.—Bronze double vase inlaid with gold.
Eighteenth century A.D. Height, 8.5 cm.
W. W. Winkworth Collection.

tion of inlaid vessels in imitation of ancient style began in the belief that gold inlay was peculiar to bronze objects of the Hsia dynasty. Chao Hsi-ku 趙希鵠 puts the following statement at the beginning of the section on bronze in his *Tung-t'ien ch'ing lu* 洞天清錄:

"Hsia respected loyalty, Shang unaffectedness, Chou the graces, and their vessels vary in style accordingly: Shang vessels are without ornament, those of Chou are carved with *chuan* 篆 characters in fine close lines. This much of the theory is certainly incontrovertible; but the bronzes of Hsia are alone in differing from this. I have seen engraved halberds (*ko* 戈) of Hsia. The surface of the bronze is inlaid with gold, the details hair-fine. Hsia pieces (*ch'i* 器) are probably (*ta ti* 大抵) all like this. In the course of time the gold has fallen out and cavities appear, their shapes corresponding to the recessed parts of the design. To-day people commonly turn *hsiang ch'ien* 相嵌 (inlay) into *Shang ch'ien* 商嵌 (inlay of Shang). One reads in the Book of Odes: Chisel their ornament and inlay with gold and jade."

The *Tung-t'ien ch'ing lu* was written in the 1230s or 1240s. In his *Ko-ku yao-lun* 格古要論 of 1388 Ts'ao Chao 曹昭 repeated Chao Hsi-ku's passage on bronze, but he replaces the words "I have seen engraved halberds of Hsia" by an awkward phrase: "There are constantly vessels," which combining with what follows can only be taken to mean "and the surface of their bronze is inlaid with gold. . . ." The word used for vessels, *ch'i*, in Chinese covers also tools and weapons, but since halberds are no longer specified the reader is led to conclude that all Hsia bronzes are inlaid; whereas in Chao's text the *ch'i* following "halberd" could be

taken to mean other *weapons*. Thus the later text would indicate that the generality of Hsia bronzes was inlaid. Ts'ao Chao does not think it necessary to repeat the earlier writer's reasoning on the loss of inlay. Whereas scholars of an earlier generation may have contemplated Shang vessels and wondered if any of them could be pieces of Hsia date from which the inlay had fallen away, the antiquarians of the following century whose opinions the *Ko-ku yao-lun* summarizes evidently were more familiar with gold-inlaid bronze and attributed it confidently to the supposed earlier dynasty.

Bronze vessels inlaid with gold, if ancient, can only have been works of the late Chou period and of the earlier Western Han, i.e. the fourth-second centuries B.C. But these pieces must have been rare; they are not specified among recorded finds of the Northern Sung period; lacking the hallowed inscriptions, they would appeal less to Confucian-minded collectors. It is worth noting that the passage quoted above speaks of the Three Dynasties but names only Shang and Chou. The *Chou li* speaks of gold-inlaid vessels (cf. the yellow-eyed *tsun*), the *K'ao-ku t'u* countenanced the survival of pieces of Hsia date, but soon the Hsia category is abolished by some leading antiquarians. The stages of the controversy, if it can be called such, are marked as follows:

A.D. 1092: Lü Ta-lin attributed bronzes to Hsia.

ca. A.D. 1120: Hsia is omitted from the *Po-ku t'u-lu*.

A.D. 1230-40: Chao Hsi-ku speculates that Hsia bronzes were gold-inlaid.

A.D. 1388: Ts'ao Chao states confidently that Hsia bronzes were gold-inlaid.

A rearing winged lion, belonging to the

British Museum, whose post-antique date is not in question, demonstrates satisfactorily that the character of inlay of the fourth and third centuries B.C. could be closely imitated in later times.¹⁴ Similar inlay covers the sides of the *hu* shown in a detail in *figure 15*, whose shape and high quality have been thought to prove Han or late Chou date. But the scale of the ornament and its broad interlacing are not paralleled in other pieces attributable to the early period by record of finding or other particulars, even in the light of the vast excavations of Han tombs undertaken in recent years.¹⁵ If the practice of faithfully copying and of skilled inlaying during the Sung period is to be entertained at all, as evidently it must be, this is the degree of merit that might be expected. Another gold-inlaid *hu* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, previously proposed by the author as archaistic, is matched closely among recorded finds only by a *hu* retrieved with Han bronzes in a Hsi-an suburb. The ornament of the latter is strikingly similar but lacks some of the decorative detail which makes plausible, if not certain, a Sung attribution of the other. The Victoria and Albert Museum's *hu* appears to be the only surviving bronze, ancient or archaistic, on which the inlay is largely carried out with massive gold.¹⁶

The phase of inlay work which still set

itself standards of antiquarian accuracy might still admit fantasy. The Freer Gallery's *ho* 盃 (*fig. 16*) is one of a number of examples of an invention unparalleled in antiquity, some of which display exquisite workmanship. In this case anachronisms are manifest. The openwork handle resembles wax-cast ornament occasionally datable to the fourth century B.C., while the diaper of the main fields represents a rather earlier convention. The design inlaid on the rim of the lid alludes to Western Chou, and the scrolled version in the central zone is akin to late Huai geometricizing style. The winged creatures serving as feet and the animals forming the handle seem to be pure inventions. The oddity of the last comes near to some Han designs, but the openwork and inlay in this combination put the vessel unambiguously in an early phase of archaistic experiment.

The *tui* 敦 of *figure 17* reflects the persistent taste of the copyists for the final, geometricizing phase of the Huai style, and we may hazard a guess that the *ting* of *figure 18* is equally an archaistic work, for the association of this type of *ting* with the decoration it is given here is unexampled among pre-Han pieces. In this case the *ting* may have been intended as a Hsia form from which the inlay had been lost. The vessel of which the gilded foot is illustrated in *figure 19*—still recalling the "rainbow cauldrons" of the Han period—is decorated with interlacing ornament of a fineness equaling archaic work, but laid in chiselled cells which reveal a distinct technique.¹⁷

¹⁴ R. S. Jenyns and W. Watson, *Chinese Art: The Minor Arts*, vol. 1 (New York, 1960), pl. 41.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 39. At the center of the detail shown in our *fig. 15* can be seen a figure which looks like a shop mark. See also M. Loehr, *Ritual Vessels of Bronze Age China* (New York, 1968), p. 158, where the Sung attribution of the *hu* is discussed sceptically. The most important find of richly inlaid *hu* is that recently recorded at Man-ch'eng 滿城, Hopei, published by illustrations but without any account of the site, in the publication cited in note 10 above.

¹⁶ Jenyns and Watson, *Chinese Art*, p. 40. It is worth noting that the lid of this *hu* is of different facture from the body but similarly decorated.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 55.

6. *Inlaid ornament freely developed from the antique*

In the work considered above the copyist was at pains to reproduce the design of ancient inlay even if it was misapplied on the decorated object. Most of the inlay is in the form of narrow lines, combining with areas of foil that preserve the simple geometric shapes which are associated with linear figures in ancient work. A development of archaistic work beyond the limits of the old convention took place in two directions. One method was to use gold to decorate the relief ornament *t'ao-t'ieh*, dragons, etc. cast in normal relief. In the majority, if not the totality of such work, the leading motifs have decorative attenuation and curvilinear softening (described in section 4 above) as essential to a later "ritual tradition," in which the bookish influence produced a stable style. But the simplification has not gone so far as on the *ting* of figure 14. In the Freer Gallery's *kuang* 觥 (fig. 21) the animal figures are more remote from those of the *lei* (fig. 20) of the same collection and are possibly of somewhat later date.

The areas of foil inlaid on both of these pieces are variegated with spirals and scrolling excisions. These prettifying additions are omitted in inlaid work of apparent later date, but in the earlier phase they were the basis of schemes of ornament from which reference to the antique all but vanishes. It is seen on vessels which have no ancient antecedents, particularly the phoenix or goose¹⁸ carrying a vase-mouth or a separate vase on its back (fig. 22). The quality of this inlay is not inferior to that used in vessels of more orthodox shape. It

is difficult to suppose that this work was contemporaneous with the stricter ritual designs; it is seen combined with relatively inferior casting.

Some of the most original achievements in archaistic bronzework are vessels in which the variation of the form of a ritual vessel is combined with skilled inlay in traditional style or in which an adaptation of an ancient scheme, not previously executed in inlaid gold, is applied to a vessel of orthodox type. These varieties of work are represented by *tou* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (figs. 23a, b; 24). The openwork, which is made the dominant theme of one of these, interprets the Middle Chou wave design, placing some new curved and branching figures within the loops and inlaying designs derived from the geometric *Huai* but executed in the established archaistic idiom. The *tou* with subspherical bowl matches a shape of unusual perfection to gold-inlaid design which eschews exaggeration of spiral and curlicue, varying the antique but remaining wholly in its spirit.

7. *The decorative tradition*

The pottery of Chin date cited above is decorated with elements which all derive from the antique at various removes, but they are disparate and their assembly does not convey the idea of the confident systems of ornament which constitute decorative tradition. In the bronzes which have been assigned tentatively to the Yüan period, the reference to the antique is for the most part quite overt; and the archaism has not yet passed into a phase of unreflective ornament. In the Southern Sung porcelains the imitation of ancient ritual vessels (commonly *kuei* and *tsun*) hardly went beyond an adumbration of the form. When these

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 42 shows a typical phoenix.

porcelain shapes were in their turn copied in bronze, in the Hsüan-te period (1426-35) and later, the metal was left mostly plain or variegated with colorful effects owing nothing to the antique, and more rarely inlaid with silver wire in summary versions of *t'ao-t'ieh* and *k'uei* dragons. Meanwhile the new floral and small-patterned ornament, which characterizes the Yüan period, did not draw in general decoration upon the motifs of ancient or archaistic bronze (with the exception of the key-fret band, if that is held to derive from metalwork). Thereafter these motifs did not establish themselves seriously in pottery, beyond some eighteenth-century *trompe-l'oeil*, but were the quarry of bronze-workers and jade-carvers. In cloisonné enamels of Ming and later date the ornament is floral even on vessels of ritual shapes close to the antique.

In bronze-work the decorative use made of the archaistic repertory, severed from any serious intent of imitation (i.e. of either ancient models or as interpreting hints taken from the *Chou li*, etc.), appears to reach a climax in the later sixteenth century, to which time is assigned the activity of two outstanding craftsmen known by their signatures, Hu Wen-ming 胡文明 and Shih Sou 石叟. They work in what is now a clearly defined ritual tradition, producing either free compositions in line, which rely much on the key-fret schemes launched in the Hsüan-te period, or more approximate antique schemes with strong bookish bias and rather erratic application of gold and silver foil. The *kuei* and *tsun* bearing the signature of Shih Sou (figs. 25 and 26) exemplify these two manners. The ornament on the sides of the bronze tray shown in figure 27 is more frivolous than the work of the Hu-Shih school: the birds are book-

influenced, and probably neither maker nor user connected them with the crested birds of the early Chou reigns whose lineal descendants they are. While craftsman and patron were alive to the archaistic import of design and while the subsequent decorative style sprung from archaism retained its vigor, the presence of the antique could exercise a restraining influence upon ornament. But the vase illustrated on figure 28 breaks with that tradition, its mystifying assortment of parts interpreting only the fulsome decadence of Ch'ien-lung taste.

At present one may hope to gauge the time of the various groups of archaistic bronzes only within generous limits, and the following broad dating is offered with the greatest diffidence. It reflects the inferences made above regarding (a) an unprecedented initiative at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries towards authenticity in copying the antique; (b) the antiquarians' mistake in associating inlaid bronze with the Hsia dynasty; (c) the *early* effect of book illustration upon design; and (d) the rise of a decorative tradition with historical sequence, rooted in archaism but in practice distinct from a late tradition of ritual ornament.

1. Cast ornament closely imitated: apart from the deceptive facsimile made to satisfy modern demands, the period of authentic archaism may prove to be virtually limited to the Hui-tsung period.
2. Anachronistic combination of cast ornament: work of this kind in which the motifs are individually closely authentic and are placed on vessels of approximately authentic shape, probably belongs in the main to the Southern Sung.

3. Cast interlaced ornament: designs of this kind such as were considered above are probably confined to the Sung period.
4. Book-influenced ornament: begins to appear in trivial manner in the Chin period; but the ritual style in which the influence of illustration was incorporated was established later, as a regular formula for the adornment of ritual vessels.
5. Inlaid ornament closely imitated: the faithful reproduction of designs characteristic of the third-second centuries B.C. on vessels of ancient shape and on new inventions was part of the authentic antiquarianism of the late decades of the Northern Sung.
6. Inlaid ornament freely developed: it is difficult to conceive even the earlier of these designs as coeval with authentic archaistic inlaid designs of group 5. The developed inlay and the newly invented vessel shapes on which it appears probably fall mainly in the Yüan period. It is noticeable that significant zinc content is frequent in bronzes of this class.

MING BLUE-AND-WHITE BOWLS OF LIEN-TZŪ TYPE

BY KAMER AGA-UGLU*

AMONG THE MING BLUE-AND-WHITE PORCELAIN in the collections of the Museum of Anthropology University of Michigan, eight bowls form an interesting topic for discussion. All of these have come to light from burial sites in the Philippines.¹ The five bowls shown in *figures 1, 3, 5, 6 and 8*, are part of a large collection of Far Eastern ceramics which were excavated in the Philippines by the University of Michigan Expedition. Of the remaining pieces, one was formerly in the collection of Mr. Evett D. Hester² (*fig. 4*) and the other two were in the collection of Justice and Mrs. G. Mennen Williams³ (*figs. 2 and 7*), with all three having been acquired in the Philippines.

At this point, before the discussion of the blue-and-white bowls, it seems fitting to mention a few general facts regarding the Michigan Expedition,⁴ the nature of its

ceramic material in general and that of the Ming blue-and-white in particular.

The University of Michigan Philippine Expedition of 1922–25, directed by Dr. Carl E. Guthe, was one of the earliest systematic archaeological works conducted in that country. Its activities were confined to the sites located chiefly along the coastal lines of the islands of Visayan and Sulu groups, Mindanao and Palawan. During the period of its field work, the Expedition was able to bring together an important collection of pottery and some ethnological and somatological material which is now housed in the Museum of Anthropology. Of some 10,000 specimens in this collection, eighty per cent is pottery of which only 1,000 are whole or nearly whole pieces, with the rest consisting of sherds. The major portion of the pottery is comprised of Chinese wares which consist mainly of the celadon and blue-and-white wares, the first ranging in date from the Sung to the Ming period, and the second being of the Yüan and Ming periods. The third major group of Chinese pottery is a common variety of a porcelaneous stoneware with a thin celadon type glaze which was probably produced during and after the Sung period. The next type of pottery is of Siamese origin and consists chiefly of the Sawankhalok celadon, brown glazed and painted wares, in addition to a small group of painted ware of Sukhotai kilns. They range in date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The remaining portion of pottery is comprised of native Philippine earthenware.

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¹ Similar bowls were found in burial sites of Calatagan on Luzon Island. Robert B. Fex, "The Calatagan Excavations," *Philippine Studies*, vol. 7, no. 3 (August, 1959, Manila), pls. 56–57.

² Kamer Aga-Oglu, "Ming Porcelain from Sites in the Philippines," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. 17 (1963), fig. 1, left.

³ Kamer Aga-Oglu, *The Williams Collection of Far Eastern Ceramics* (Catalogue of Exhibition), University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology (Ann Arbor, 1972), no. 16.

⁴ Carl E. Guthe, "The University of Michigan Philippine Expedition," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 29 (Jan.-March, 1927), pp. 69–76; Carl E. Guthe, "Distribution of Sites Visited by the University of Michigan Philippine Expedition 1922–1925," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, vol. 10 (1928), pp. 79–89.

The entire collection was recovered from the sites of graves, burial grounds and burial caves. It should be noted that of the 542 sites explored by the Michigan Expedition, almost all had been badly disturbed prior to its field work, a fact which made it impossible to determine relative age from stratification. Even in the case of the few less disturbed sites, no objects of relevant historical significance were found in association with the material obtained from them.⁵ Therefore, the identification and dating of the material, especially the pottery which is the major feature of the collection, has to depend entirely upon stylistic criteria. It is of interest to note here that the unfavorable conditions of many ancient sites witnessed by the Michigan Expedition fifty years ago evidently still exist.⁶

The blue-and-white porcelain in our Philippine collection consists of some 2,500 specimens of which only 190 are whole pieces. It ranges from a small group of the earliest known types dating from the Yüan period,⁷ to those made during the Ming period, a fact which proves that the ware was imported to the Philippines from the beginning of its manufacture. This is natural, since the blue-and-white porcelain, like celadon, enjoyed a great popularity in China itself as well as abroad and was exported in large amounts to the Philippines, the islands of Indonesia, Japan and to the countries of the Near East, where it has been preserved in the old Ottoman

Collection of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul⁸ and the Ardebil Collection now housed in the Archaeological Museum in Tehran.⁹ It is interesting to note that, of the Chinese porcelains preserved outside of China, those in Istanbul and Teheran are in general of a much higher quality and workmanship than the wares found in Southeast Asia. This fact clearly proves that the Chinese porcelains made for export were, like those intended for trade at home, of various qualities and that the finer wares were traded to the more profitable markets.

The Ming blue-and-white in the collection which interests us here, is an ordinary ware and consists chiefly of utilitarian vessels, such as dishes, bowls and jars. They are predominantly of a coarse provincial variety and have heavily potted bodies with roughly finished bases which have large accretions of kiln sand. They have a simple decoration of conventional floral and plant motifs and dragons and phoenixes which are rendered in a bold summary manner typical of this ware.¹⁰ This type of blue-and-white is one of a family of four closely related coarse porcelain wares of the sixteenth century, made probably in Fukien, and are known as the "Swatow wares," which have been discussed in detail elsewhere.¹¹ But our Ming blue-and-white contains also a con-

⁸ Ernst Zimmermann, *Altchinesische Porcellane im Alten Serai*, vol. 2 of the *Meisterwerke der Türkischen Museen zu Konstantinopel* (Berlin, 1930); John A. Pope, *Fourteenth-Century Blue-and-White Ware: A Group of Chinese Porcelains in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Istanbul* (Washington, 1952).

⁹ Mehdi Bahrani, "Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil in the Teheran Museum," *Oriental Ceramic Society Transactions*, vol. 21 (1949-50), pp. 13-19; John A. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine* (Washington, 1956).

¹⁰ Aga-Oglu, "Ming Porcelain," figs. 8-9.

¹¹ Kamer Aga-Oglu, "The So-Called 'Swatow' Wares: Types and Problems of Provenance," *Far*

⁵ Carl E. Guthe, "Expedition," "Sites," *passim*.

⁶ Leandro and Cecilia Locsin, *Oriental Ceramics Discovered in the Philippines*, (Tokyo, 1967), pp. XV, XVI, 23-27.

⁷ Kamer Aga-Oglu, "The Relationship Between the Ying-Ch'ing, Shu-Fu and Early Blue and White," *Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin*, no. 8 (December, 1949), pp. 27-33.

siderable number of pieces of a finer quality and make, which include the eight bowls to be discussed here. In spite of having minor imperfections and kiln defects, this ware does not seem to be the product of the kilns which manufactured the coarse "Swatow" types. Because of its popularity, this type of ware must have been made in various kiln centers of southern China, including Ching-te Chen 景德鎮, where the blue-and-white of various qualities was produced from its beginnings to the end of the Ch'ing period. The vessels of this variety have a rather thinly potted, fine-grained porcelain body and a transparent glaze of a bluish or grayish white color which covers them entirely, except for the edge of their neatly trimmed foot rims. However, some pieces in this group are of a heavier build with sturdy foot rims, and they often have a roughly finished and partially glazed base. The decoration is rendered in a cobalt varying from a pale blue to a dark purplish blue, depending upon the thickness of the pigment. It shows a variety of designs either of floral motifs or birds and animals in a garden scene with plants, rocks and ponds, or ducks and fishes in a lotus pond, and rarely human figures.¹² Eight bowls stand out in this group because of the subject matter of their decoration.

The bowls illustrated here (*figs. 1-8*) are of a deep shape with straight rim and a low, wide foot. Five of these have a rather thinly potted body which is covered entirely by bluish white glaze, except for the edge of their tapering foot rims (*figs. 1-5*). The

remaining two are of a heavier build with sturdy foot rims and have a roughly trimmed base which is partly glazed (*figs. 6 and 7*). The last piece is also of heavy potting but has a glazed base with a tapering foot rim. They have a simple, sketchy decoration which is executed with light brush strokes in a grayish pale blue of varying intensity. Seen on the inside of the bowls is a ring border at the rim and a central medallion which contains either a conch shell or a lotus flower, rendered in white on a blue wave ground (*figs. 1b-4b and 8*) or a lotus bud (*fig. 7b*) or a sketchy Chinese character which may be *Fu*(?) 福 (Happiness) (*fig. 6b*). On the outside there is a wave border at the rim of the first five bowls, with the next two having a sketchy border of chevron-like hatching pattern which may suggest a wave design. The last piece, which is the lower portion of a bowl with conch shell, may have had a wave border on the rim, like the others. However, the main decoration of all these bowls is a row of upright, veined leaves, resembling fern fronds, which encircles their sides. It is this feature which holds them together, at the same time setting them apart from the rest of the Ming blue-and-white in the Michigan Collection.

Our interest in this group of bowls is not in their quality and make, which is of the general nature of this type of blue-and-white; however, the deep shape with straight rim, which concerns us here, is not a common feature among the Ming bowls in our collection, most of which have a slightly flaring rim. What interests us most in these bowls is the unusual feature of their decoration which is distinctive enough to permit attribution by analogy. The most effective means for the identification and dating of

Eastern Ceramic Bulletin, vol. 7, no. 2 (June, 1955), pp. 1-34, pls. I-XXIV. Included in this article are several examples of the coarse blue-and-white "Swatow" ware in the Michigan collection.

¹² Aga-Oglu, "Ming Porcelain," *figs. 1-6*.

these pieces would be a comparative study of similar ceramic material found in the kiln sites of China itself. Recent excavations of various kiln centers in southern China have recovered, among others, fragments of blue-and-white of Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing periods from the sites of Ching-te Chen, Hu-t'ien 湖田 and Yung-ho 永和 in Kiangsi and of Te-hua 德化 in Fukien, besides other places. However, the reports of those excavations are still preliminary and do not specify the characteristic features of the ceramics; among the illustrated specimens of the various wares, there are only two sherds of a well-known type of Yüan blue-and-white.¹³ Further publications on the ceramics found in the sites of their originating kilns will throw much light upon the problems in the identification and dating of the lesser known types of wares found outside of China. For the present, the general but still most helpful information is what we find in the reports of the late Archibald Brankston on his investigations of the kiln sites of Ching-te Chen and the neighboring Hu-t'ien and Yung-ho, conducted in 1937. Besides making a survey of the private kilns and of Ching-te Chen proper, the well-known center of porcelain industry of China, he also collected a number of fragmentary vessels and kiln wasters of various ceramic wares, including Ming blue-and-white. Illustrated in his article are fragments of three blue-and-white bowls¹⁴ which resemble in make and style of decora-

tion some of the pieces in the finer type of our blue-and-white ware that includes the eight bowls of our topic. This affinity prompts our assumption that a considerable number of our blue-and-white vessels, including these bowls, may have been the products of some of the private kilns neighboring Ching-te Chen proper.

Because of the scanty nature of the archaeological data known to us and the fact that no reference of significant relevance to the ordinary trade porcelain could be expected to be found in Chinese sources dealing with ceramic wares, the identification of our bowls has to depend on analogies to other types of the blue-and-white porcelain. The unusual fern leaf design in the decoration of our bowls shows affinity, indeed of a most general nature, to a row of plantain leaves which appears in the decoration of the blue-and-white of the Yüan period, as is seen on the necks of a much publicized pair of temple vases dated 1351.¹⁵ This motif of upright, often pointed, veined leaves, which are variously called "plantain leaves," "stiff leaves" or "fern leaves," depending upon their appearance, is used continuously in the decoration of numerous pieces of the blue-and-white ware from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century and is also seen in some pieces of the underglaze copper red porcelain of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. It is interesting to note that this motif appears in the decoration of vessels of various shapes such as vases, ewers, jars of *kuan* 罐 shape, bottles and leys jars (*cha-tou* 渣斗) but is not seen on bowls or dishes, as far

¹³ Feng Hsien-ming, "Important Finds of Ancient Chinese Ceramics Since 1949," *Wen Wu* (1965), no. 9. Translated by Mrs. Hin-cheung Lovell in *Chinese Translations*, no. 1, Oriental Ceramic Society (London, 1967).

¹⁴ Archibald D. Brankston, "An Excursion to Ching-tê Chên and Chi-An-Fu in Kiangsi," *Oriental Ceramic Society Transactions*, vol. 16 (1938-39), pl. 2 d.

¹⁵ Margaret Medley, *Illustrated Catalogue of Porcelains Decorated in Underglaze Blue and Copper Red in the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art* (London, 1963), nos. B613, B614.

as our knowledge goes.¹⁶ For this reason, to attempt an attribution by analogy to design alone seems unfeasible. However, there is a distinct group of early fifteenth-century blue-and-white bowls, called *lien-tzŭ* 蓮子, which are decorated on the outside with a row of solid, slender petals, not veined leaves, and a rim border of wave or thunder pattern. It is this type of bowl that bears an affinity to our pieces, not in quality but in the association of a particular form and design.

These highly praised bowls, called *lien-tzŭ* (lotus pod) because they resemble it in shape, were made in the Imperial or official kilns of Ching-te Chen and include pieces which have the reign mark of Emperor Hsüan-te (1426–35). They fall into two distinct types, one of which does not concern us here because of its specific shape and decoration.¹⁷ Our interest is in the other type, an exquisite example of which is the bowl in the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 9). It is of deep form with straight rim and a low, rather wide, foot rim. Its base is glazed and is not marked. The inside of the bowl has an elaborate decoration which is composed of a wave border and a wide band of scrolling flowers, centered by a fruit spray. The abstract decoration of the exterior contrasts vividly with the realistic designs of the interior. Just below the border

of thunder pattern, the sides of the bowl are encircled by a row of slender, solid petals which is the most characteristic feature of this type of the so-called *lien-tzŭ* bowls.¹⁸

The Freer bowl, although incomparable in quality, shows, nevertheless, affinity to our bowls in shape and especially in decoration, as is seen from the row of petals around its sides and the wave border on the inside of its rim which occur on the outside of the rims of our pieces. The analogy here is not in the exactness of appearance and style, but it is in the nature of these bowls.

The *lien-tzŭ* bowls, which were the products of a brief period in the early fifteenth century, are distinguished by their shape and a novel decorative motif. The shape of a deep bowl with straight rim is thought to have been evolved in the early fifteenth century, along with the new type of petal design which appears in these bowls.¹⁹ Although this shape, or a modified version of it, is seen in bowls of later date, the specific petal motif does not appear in their decoration. One other intrinsic element in the *lien-tzŭ* bowls is the symbolic aspect which may explain the meaning of the dominant, abstract petal design in their otherwise realistic decoration. Called “lotus pod shaped” or “lotus bowls,” they signify a lotus flower or pod held by petals or leaves.

In analyzing the Michigan bowls with regard to their shape and particularly to the row of upright leaves encircling their sides, which is inherent in them, they bring to mind the *lien-tzŭ* bowls. This affi-

¹⁶ Medley, *Catalogue*, nos. 680, A696, B685; Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols*, The Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, 1968), nos. 142, 143, 170–173; Jean Gordon Lee, *Ming Blue-and-White* (Catalogue of Exhibition), Philadelphia Museum Bulletin, vol. 44, no. 223 (Autumn, 1949), nos. 89, 91, 92; and others.

¹⁷ Archibald D. Brankston, *Early Ming Wares of Chingtechen* (Peking, 1938), pls. 5, 6, 7; *Catalogue of Special Exhibition of Chinese Porcelains*, National Palace Museum, Taipei (March, 1968), pl. VB, top center and right; and others.

¹⁸ Brankston, *Early Ming Wares*, pls. 13b, 7b; Lee, *Ming Blue-and-White*, no. 55; Pope, *Chinese Porcelains*, pls. 46, 47; *Catalogue*, National Palace Museum, Taipei, pl. 4, no. 1; and others.

¹⁹ Pope, *Chinese Porcelains*, pp. 86, 97.

nity, seen in the real and symbolic elements, prompts our supposition that the famous bowls must have been the source of inspiration for the makers of ordinary trade wares like these bowls.

As we have stated at the beginning of this article and elsewhere, the identification of the ceramic wares recovered from unreliable sites, depends entirely upon stylistic criteria and analogies. Consequently, the opinions of the persons involved in their study differ in matters of attribution. Suggestions have been made that, among the blue-and-white found in the Philippines, there are no pieces which could be dated with certainty to the early and middle fif-

teenth century.²⁰ However, there seems to be no objection to ascribing some dishes of the celadon ware found in the Philippines to the early fifteenth century, because of their relations to a group of blue-and-white dishes known to be of that period.²¹ At the present, our assumptions regarding the source of origin and age of most of these ceramics are based on conjecture, which must be open to criticism, until verified by historical evidences and new findings of related material in China itself.

²⁰ John M. Addis, "Chinese Porcelain Found in the Philippines," *Oriental Ceramic Society Transactions*, vol. 37 (1967-69), p. 20.

²¹ Aga-Oglu, "Ming Porcelain," p. 17, fig. 20a, b.



FIG. 1a.—Bowl decorated in grayish pale blue with a band of stiff leaves and a wave border. Ht. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., diam. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Museum of Anthropology, 36656). (Portion of rim missing.)

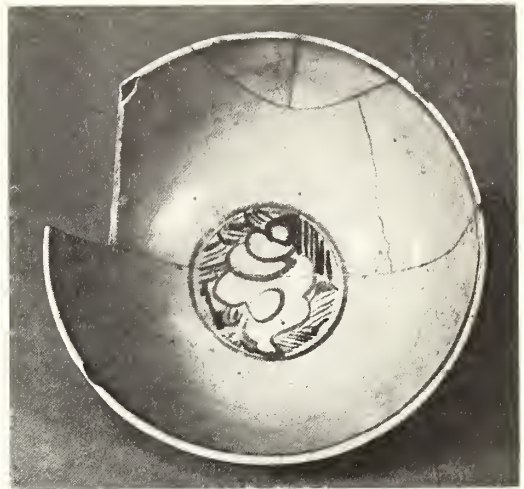


FIG. 1b.—Inside of bowl. Conch shell in the center of bottom.



FIG. 2a.—Bowl with grayish blue decoration of a band of stiff leaves and a wave border. Ht. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., diam. 5 in. (Museum of Anthropology, 48110). (Exhib. and illus., Aga-Oglu, *The Williams Collection of Far Eastern Ceramics*, no. 16.)



FIG. 2b.—Inside of bowl. Conch shell in the center of bottom.



FIG. 3a.—Major portion of bowl showing a band of lobed leaves and a wave border rendered in grayish warm blue. Ht. 2 1/2 in., diam.

5 in. (Museum of Anthropology, 36662). (Publ. Aga-Oglu, "Ming Porcelain from Sites in the Philippines," fig. 1, right, inside view.)



FIG. 3b.—Inside of bowl. Conch shell in the center of bottom.



FIG. 4a.—Bowl decorated in pale warm blue with a band of lobed leaves and a wave border. Ht. 2 1/2 in., diam. 5 1/4 in. (Museum of Anthropology, 36835). (Publ. Aga-Oglu, "Ming Porcelain from Sites in the Philippines," fig. 1, left.)



FIG. 4b.—Inside of bowl. Lotus flower in the center of bottom. (Sand adhering to glaze.)

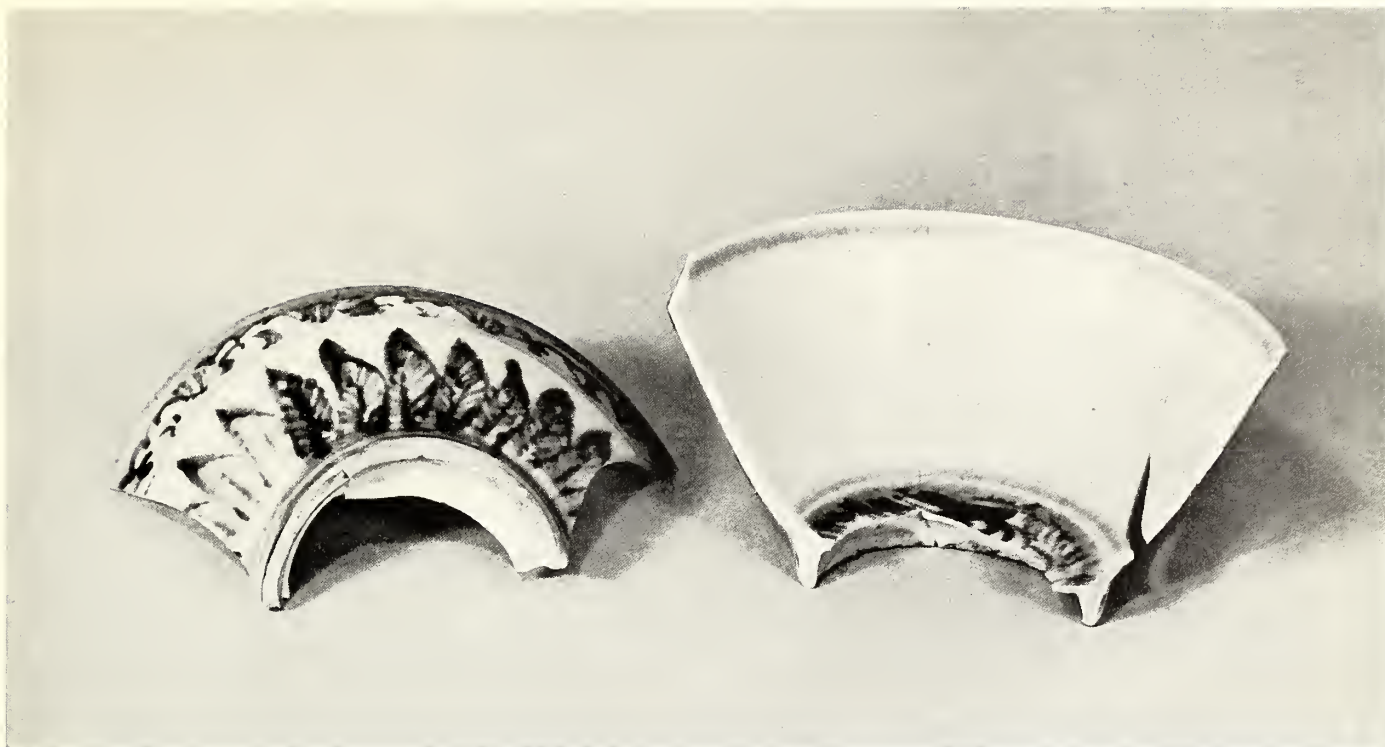


FIG. 5.—Sides of bowl, bottom missing, decorated with a band of fernlike leaves and a wave border, rendered in dark warm blue. Ht. $2 \frac{3}{8}$ in., diam. ca. $5 \frac{1}{2}$ in. (Museum of Anthropology, 20247.)



FIG. 6a.—Major portion of bowl decorated with a band of stiff leaves below a border of hatching pattern, executed in dark grayish blue. Ht. 2 in., diam. 5 in. (Museum of Anthropology, 36659).

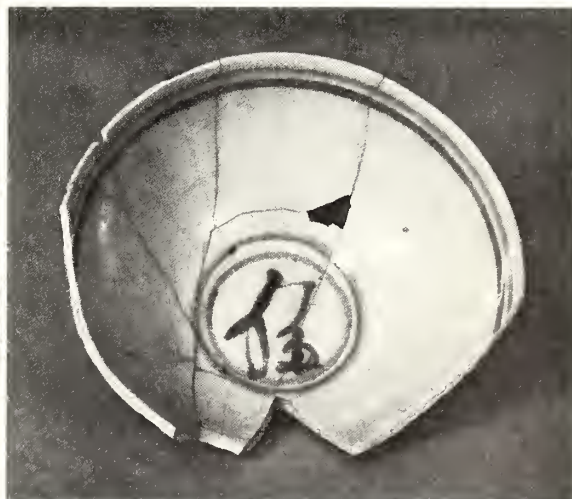


FIG. 6b.—Inside of bowl. A Chinese character in the center of bottom (*Fu* [?] [Happiness]).



FIG. 7a.—Bowl decorated in pale grayish blue with a band of stiff leaves and a border of hatching pattern. Ht. 2 1/4 in., diam., greatest, 5 1/4 in. (Museum of Anthropology, 47981). (Warped in firing.)

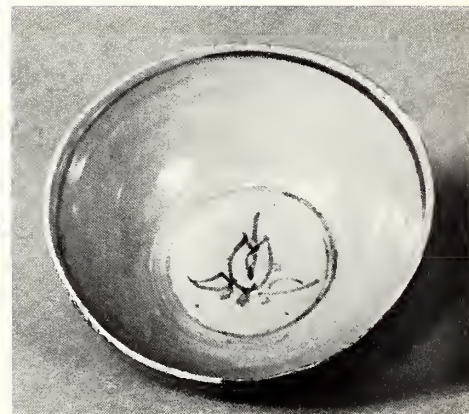


FIG. 7b.—Inside of bowl. Lotus bud in the center of bottom.



FIG. 8.—Major portion of the lower part of bowl showing a band of stiff leaves rendered in grayish pale blue.

Inside is a conch shell in the center of bottom.

Diameters of the side, base and foot rim are close to those of the bowl in *figure 1*. (Museum of Anthropology, 18133.)



FIG. 9.—Blue-and-white *lien-tzu* bowl decorated in deep rich blue with row of solid petals and a border of thunder pattern. Ht. $3 \frac{15}{16}$ in., diam. $8 \frac{5}{16}$ in. Freer Gallery of Art, 15.14.
(Illus. Pope, *Ming Porcelains in the Freer Gallery of Art* [Washington, 1953], fig. 3, p. 13.)

SHUSSAN SHAKA IN SUNG AND YÜAN PAINTING

BY HELMUT BRINKER*

THE THEME OF “*Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*,” as the Chinese term *Shih-chia ch’u-shan* 釋迦出山 may be translated, has become known in art history by its Japanese name *Shussan* (no) *Shaka*. In authoritative accounts on the life of the Historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, incorporated in such canonical Mahāyāna texts as the *Lalitavistara* or in the traditional series of eight important events or eight aspects of Śākyamuni’s life, the *pa-hsiang* 八相, this essential biographical detail is missing. Hence, it does not appear in traditional orthodox Mahāyāna art. It began to play an important role only in the Ch’an school of the Northern Sung dynasty when the Historical Buddha regained his original supremacy as the protagonist of all enlightened beings. Śākyamuni’s biography, especially the descriptions of his heroic efforts in pursuit of *Satori* 悟, gave a strong impetus to Ch’an people in their own search for the spiritual goal of awakening which ultimately could be achieved only through the devotee’s untiring determination, self-discipline and personal strength (*tzu-li* 自力). In art this Ch’an concept of the Buddha gave rise to a number of new iconographical themes such as the *Shussan Shaka*, and it inspired the artists to represent Śākyamuni as a human individual who underwent long ascetic austerities and not as an idealized incarnation of absolute wisdom far removed from the ordinary affairs and afflictions of this world.

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1. *The Significance of the Theme and Evidence from Colophons*

Although the emaciated figure of Śākyamuni on his return from the mountains after a period of six years of arduous fast and hardship came to assume a prominent place in Ch’an art during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these pictures have found quite contradictory interpretations: one group of scholars, mainly Japanese adherents of Buddhist schools other than Ch’an, thinks of *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* as the Buddha who has realized that spiritual Enlightenment cannot be gained through rigorous physical and mental exercises in retirement from the world and that he therefore gave up his shattering self-immolation. In the opinion of these scholars the *Shussan Shaka* paintings represent the Historical Buddha *prior* to his attaining Enlightenment under the Bodhitree at Bodhi Gayā. “Not only the effects of privation, then, but also the bitterness of disappointment, are expressed in his face and figure.”¹

Other Buddhist scholars, among them such competent authors on Zen and its art as Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki,² Shin’ichi Hisamatsu³ and Dietrich Seckel⁴ believe that

¹ James Cahill, *Chinese Paintings, XI-XIV Centuries*, (New York, 1960), p. 31.

² Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, 2nd series (Kyoto, 1933, London, 1950), explanatory note on the frontispiece.

³ Shin’ichi Hisamatsu, *Zen to Bijutsu* 禪と美術 (Kyoto, 1958), p. 73, and Gishin Tokiwa, trans., *Zen and the Fine Arts* (Tokyo and Palo Alto, 1971), pp. 61 f.

⁴ Dietrich Seckel, “Shākyamunis Rückkehr aus den Bergen,” *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatique*, vols. 18-19 (1965), pp. 35-72.

these paintings depict "Śākyamuni, who has pursued Awakening (*Satori*) on the mountain, descending *after* its attainment. At least that is how Zen people view it. In his discontent with the way of the world, man finds it impossible to remain there and enters the mountain to find his way free from suffering. As the result of his six years' search, Śākyamuni discovers the way to live the actualities of life by being free from them and leaves the mountain. This painting of *Śākyamuni Descending the Mountain*, thus, can be said to symbolize most excellently man's true way of being."⁵

It would seem quite logical to give more weight to the latter authors' interpretation; but their view appears to be not *expressis verbis* in accord with some of the colophons on *Shussan Shaka* paintings, while others support it very clearly, as we shall see. If one is to accept Śākyamuni's attainment of *Satori* at the end of his sojourn in the wilderness there arises the question how his meditation under the Bodhi-tree at Bodh Gayā has to be understood. Traditional Buddhist accounts of his life consistently mention only the last detail in connection with his Enlightenment. Did this essential experience occur twice to the Buddha? Perhaps not only in "later syncretic developments in Japanese Buddhism," as Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman proposed,⁶ but already in Ch'an concepts of the Sung and Yüan periods the idea of a successive Enlightenment, once after "Śākyamuni's solitary vigil in the wilderness"⁷ and later on under the Bodhi-tree at Bodh Gayā, should not entirely be discarded.

Dietrich Seckel has devoted the most detailed and thoughtful iconographical analysis to this somewhat obscure, though highly popular theme.⁸ He has convincingly set forth the opinion that the Buddha's hands invariably hidden under his disheveled robe and raised in front of his breast do not form a *mudrā*; he suggested rather that this mysterious gesture may indicate in a metaphorical formula the unexpressed, but self-evident possession of truth and Enlightenment. It can be further observed in various representations of the first Ch'an patriarch in China, Bodhidharma, and in a number of Arhat images—rarely, however, in images outside the Ch'an iconography. The device to cover the hands of these enlightened men with their monk's garb may have been employed by the artists in order to avoid an otherwise almost inevitable choice of a specific *mudrā*, i.e., to make a precisely defined dogmatic statement which is entirely alien to Ch'an and its art from the beginning.

Neither exact theoretical instructions of how to achieve the final goal, nor written *sūtras* or doctrines, but rather enigmatic *kung-an* 公案 (Japanese: *kōan*)⁹ and the "Transmission of the Law" through generations of patriarchs and masters to their disciples outside the scriptures, which is "by Mind to transmit Mind" (*i-hsin ch'uan-hsin* 以心傳心), preoccupied the thinking and life of Ch'an adepts. Therefore, one may speak of Śākyamuni's and Bodhidharma's undefined gesture as an "Anti-*mudrā*"¹⁰ symbolizing the silent attainment of the

⁵ Hisamatsu, *Zen to Bijutsu*, p. 61.

⁶ Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman, *Zen Painting and Calligraphy*, (Boston, 1970), p. 128.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁸ See note 4.

⁹ Isshu Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Zen Kōan. Its History and Use in Rinzai Zen* (New York, 1965).

¹⁰ Seckel, "Shākyamunis," p. 64.

ultimate truth and the potential for its wordless transmission. "The sacred truth is Vast Emptiness itself, and where can one point out its marks?" read the first two lines of Hsüeh-tou Chung-hsien's 雪竇重顯 (980–1052) poetical comment on "Case No. 1," the encounter of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 of Liang 梁 and Bodhidharma, in the famous collection of *kung-an* known as the *Green Cliff Record* (*Pi-yen-lu* 碧巖錄).¹¹ This universal comment could just as well apply to Śākyamuni with his "unmarked" gesture. Clearly depicted are only some other fundamental bodily marks of the Buddha, as a rule his *uṣṇiṣa*, often also his *urṇā*.

Taking the conjectural significance of the covered hands and the appearance of these physical marks into account, Seckel assumes that *Shussan Shaka* pictures show the Buddha at the moment in which he decides or has just decided to return to the world in order to spread his teachings and to transmit the Law to future generations. Although he seems to keep the truth like a precious treasure in his heart he is quite aware of spoiling its purity by leaving the solitude of the mountains. The eminent Ch'an master, Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung 癡絕道冲 (1170–1251), even closed one of his colophons for a *Shussan Shaka* painting with the question: "Why did he come out again among people?"¹² That this crucial moment should be represented with this subject is also supported by an inscription of the

renowned Yüan monk Chung-feng Ming-pen 中峰明本 (1264–1325) on a *Shussan Shaka* picture in the Hatakeyama Kinenkan 畠山記念館, Tokyo (*fig. 15*):

"He who emerges from the mountains
and has entered the mountains:
That is originally You.
If one calls him 'You'
It still is not he.
The venerable master Shih-chia [Śākyamuni] comes.
Ha, ha, ha . . . ! He glances over ten
million miles of billows.
Huan-chu Ming-pen salutes with respectfully folded hands."

(*Appendix C*)

With this paradoxical wording the eloquent Ch'an master wanted to express without doubt the transforming stability of the enlightened Buddha at the cross-roads of the solitary mountain wilderness and the busy, ignorant world to which he returns and where he has to face a sheer endless stream of superfluous, foolish verbiage.

Another poem for a now lost painting of this theme was composed by the Jurchen scholar and collector, Wan-yen Tao 完顏璫 (1172–1232), Duke of Mi-kuo 密國 and a cousin of the Chin 金 Emperor Chang-tsung 章宗 (reigned 1190–1208). It sheds some light on Śākyamuni's hesitant attitude at the moment of his departure into

¹¹ For the Chinese text see *Appendix A*, for the translation see D. T. Suzuki trans., *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk* (Kyoto, 1934), p. 72.

¹² The full inscription reads: "He had retired into the mountains, extremely withered and emaciated, Up to the snowy summits of frost and cold. Coldly looking on he saw (?) a solitary star. Why did he come out again among people? On the second day of the eighth month in the

chia-ch'en [year] of the *Ch'un-yu* [era, 1244] this encomium [was written] by Tao-ch'ung of the rear Mount T'ai-po [i.e., T'ien-t'ung-ssu 天童寺]". See *fig. 10* and *Appendix B*. I wish to thank Dr. Shenchang Hwang of the Seminar für Ostasiatische Kultur- und Sprachwissenschaft, Universität München, for his reassuring support in my efforts to transcribe the annexed colophons and to provide translations of these cryptic Ch'an writings.

the world, because he anticipates that his pure truth will not remain immaculate:

"With shaggy eyebrows, his hands in his sleeves, he descends the cliff;
Until the matter of 'Raising the Flower' already has become false.

At the road down from the ancient snow mountains [he took] a goosefoot staff.

[But] there is no place to evade the tangle of climbing and creeping plants [wistaria]." (*Appendix D.*)

The metaphor of "Raising the Flower" refers, of course, to one of the basic stories of Ch'an known under the title *Nien-hua wei-hsiao* 拈華微笑, "Raising the Flower—a Subtle Smile." When Śākyamuni as a sign of absolute truth took a flower in his hand and raised it silently in front of his breast, Mahā-Kāśyapa was the only one among his disciples who reacted with a smile intimating his true understanding.¹³

From these few colophons it might become evident that Śākyamuni was understood, at least by the writers on these paintings, as the *enlightened* paragon of Buddhism

at his momentous decision to return into the world to spread the Law. Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung summarized this view in his inscription on yet another *Shussan Shaka* painting (*fig. 11*):

"During the six years in the snow mountains

His essential body became complete and manifest.

Finally he had seen the morning star
Which was turned around by this matter,
[But] not the matter turned around.

He drew for all moving forces a successive single line.

In the spring of the *ping-wu* [year] during the *Ch'un-yu* [era, 1246] this encomium [was written] by Tao-ch'ung of the Ling-yin [-ssu]." (*Appendix E.*)

In a second group of *Shussan Shaka* colophons a more sceptic or perhaps even negative evaluation of the Buddha's rigorous ascetic efforts and their result can be observed. These writers rather tend to emphasize Śākyamuni's frustration and utter confusion after six arduous years of self-immolation. But most of them acknowledge nevertheless with one or the other metaphor his achievements: they liken him to dragon and phoenix, two of the four supernatural animals (*ssu-ling* 四靈), or they mention his seeing the morning star. According to the story, the Buddha finally attained Enlightenment at the sight of the bright star and his "complete body" appeared in a gleaming light. Sung-yüan Ch'ung-yo 松源崇岳 (1132–1202), one of the most celebrated and influential Ch'an teachers of the Southern Sung dynasty, wrote a colophon for a *Shussan Shaka* painting which has been preserved through a Kanō 狩野 school copy (*fig. 3*):

¹³ This story is known from the sixth "Case" of the *Wu-men-kuan* 無門關, a *kung-an* collection compiled and first published by Hui-k'ai 慧開 (1184–1260) in 1228. It has been translated several times into Western languages, perhaps best into German by Heinrich Dumoulin, S. J., *Wu-men-kuan. Der Pass ohne Tor* (Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, no. 13 (Tokyo, 1953), pp. 17 f. A visual reference to this moment has been preserved with a picture of 1426 by the Japanese painter monk Kichizan Minchō 吉山明兆 (1352–1431). The painting owned by the Rokuō-in 鹿王院, Kyoto, forms the central part of seven hanging scrolls with thirty half-length portraits of Zen masters. The inscriptions were written by the Nanzenji 南禪寺 and Shōkokoji 相國寺 abbot Genchū Shūgaku 嚴中周噩 (1359–1428). For a reproduction see Tani Shin'ichi 谷信一, *Nihon bijutsu taikai* 日本美術大系, *Chūsei kaiga* 中世繪畫, vol. 4 (Tokyo, 1961), pl. 60 (and 61).

"At midnight he passed over the city wall

With the beauty of a dragon and the air of a phoenix.

He got loose from foolery and let go silliness.

[But] the Honorable [Śākyamuni] was not aware of it.

The day he came out of the mountains [because] he could no [longer] bear hunger and cold,

He forcibly spoke of the six years as the time of completing his way.

This encomium was reverently [written] by the monk Ch'ung-yo of the Ling-yin [-ssu]." (*Appendix F.*)

While Sung-yüan in the first part of his inscription seems to celebrate Śākyamuni's attaining Enlightenment at the sight of the morning star or at least his insight that the road to *Satori* with his own exertions was not the correct one, he clearly states in the second part that the Buddha was not aware of his far-reaching experience. Śākyamuni is leaving the snow mountains because of mere physical shortcomings, hunger and cold, and not because he has realized his possession of absolute wisdom and truth which he was to spread in the blindness of this world. He even had to justify his return from the mountains to himself by "forcibly speaking of the six years as the time of completing his way." In Sung-yüan's concept of the theme, the Buddha, himself, was obviously not entirely convinced of the success at the end of his harrowing endeavors, although he unconsciously had achieved his final goal.

Similar in its implication and in the choice of vocabulary is a colophon by the Yüan monk, Tung-ming Hui-jih 東明慧日

(1272-1340), who left China for Japan in 1309 where he became head of two famous Zen temples in Kamakura, the Kenchōji 建長寺 and Engakuji 圓覺寺. The *Shussan Shaka* picture by an anonymous Japanese painter of the early fourteenth century is now in the possession of the Chōrakuji 長樂寺 in Gumma Prefecture.¹⁴ It bears the following inscription:

"He has entered the mountains and emerges from the mountains.

In the east he bubbles up, in the west he is gone.

[Although he has] the disposition of a phoenix and the air of a dragon, He is distressfully dressed and emaciated to the bones.

This is what he achieved in six years: He became confused [. . . (?)].

The monk Hui-jih."¹⁵ (*Appendix G.*)

Tung-ming Hui-jih's poem definitely contains an allusion to the famous "Case No. 1" of the *Pi-yen-lu*. There we read in the preliminary comment: "When all the streams are cut off, one may rise in the east and sink in the west; one may walk against or in accord with; one may go straight ahead or crosswise; whether to give up or to take away from, one is in perfect freedom. Whose behaviour can this be if such is ever attainable?" The meaning of this cannot be better elucidated than with D. T. Suzuki's understanding interpretation: "When the state of absolute Emptiness is realized, a man is capable of moving in every pos-

¹⁴ Fontein and Hickman, *Zen Painting*, no. 28, p. 68.

¹⁵ Cf. the translation *ibid.*, p. 70. They read the first character of the third line *pi* 弊—"silk" instead of *pi* 弊—"distressed."

sible direction, beyond all the conceptual limitations imposed upon us by reason of our imagination and discrimination."¹⁶

The colophon of the *Freer Shussan Shaka* has to be grouped with the foregoing inscriptions (figs. 12 and 17). Its author, the Ch'an monk Hsi-yen Liao-hui 西巖了慧 (1198–1262), projects a rather desperate picture of the Buddha as he gives up his long, weary sojourn in the mountains. Except for the first line, Hsi-yen speaks in his poem only of Śākyamuni's frustration and growing discontent:

"At midnight he saw the morning star.
In the mountains his cold words had increased.
Before his feet emerged from the mountains
These words were running through the world:
'I see that all living [creatures] are completed into Buddhas since some time.
There is only You, old fellow, who is still lacking complete Enlightenment'.
Hsi-yen Liao-hui of [Mount] T'ai-po."
(Appendix H.)

Śākyamuni's despairing words, which Hsi-yen quotes in the last two lines of his colophon, are the expression of self-abasement. During his long period of asceticism the Buddha has reached a point where he considers all his rigorous efforts completely superfluous, because the living beings around him seem to have already attained Buddhahood without his self-immolating help. He even got the impression that people

regard him as the only unenlightened being.

The various lines of patriarchal succession in Sung and Yüan times as well as independent personal concepts of the *Shussan Shaka* theme may account for the two different general tendencies in its interpretation among the writers of these colophons: the one group of Ch'an masters and literati which gives special prominence to the enlightened Śākyamuni and the other which lays stress upon his increasing discontent, confusion and uncertainty about the merit of his well-meant actions. Since the latter authors in all their critical remarks do not entirely pass in silence the Buddha's achievements, as we have seen, one tends to conceive of *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains*, regardless of missing evidence from traditional Buddhist scriptures, as the enlightened savior at his departure into the world and not as the disappointed ascetic prior to his attainment of *Satori*.

2. *The Function of Shussan Shaka Paintings in Ch'an Practice*

The positive view of the *Shussan Shaka* theme appears to be in keeping with the function of these paintings in Ch'an practice. This school, which claimed to have received a wordless transmission of the Law from the Historical Buddha himself through generations of eminent patriarchs and which consequently rejected a good deal of traditional themes normally drawn from orthodox Buddhist scriptures, laid more emphasis on aspects in art which were apt to contribute to finding a practicable road to *Satori*. In their deviation from the orthodox iconography Ch'an painters as well as their confrères in literati circles turned away from stylized, static, rather abstract images

¹⁶ We have also used the translation of Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk*, pp. 71 f.; cf. also Wilhelm Gundert, *Bi-yān-lu*, bd. 1 (München, 1960), p. 37.

of the vast Mahāyāna pantheon to representations of more anecdotal, biographical character, to narrative illustrations and pictures of historical and legendary personages. Ch'an Buddhism actually never seems to have devoted much attention to the cult of icons. In this school visual aids such as portraits, dedicatory calligraphies, important scenes from the life of the Buddha, Bodhidharma or other outstanding Ch'an masters played a prominent role in memorial services or anniversary celebrations.

The fifth day of the tenth month, for example, is dedicated to the memory of Bodhidharma. On this occasion the halls of a Ch'an or Zen monastery are adorned with all kinds of pictures of the Indian founder of Ch'an in China. A laudatory calligraphy written at such an annual "Incense Burning Ceremony Commemorating the Death of Bodhidharma" (*Ta-mo-chi nien-hsiang* 達磨忌拈香) on Mount Ching 徑山 in the years between 1264 and 1269 by the abbot of this most revered Ch'an institution during those days, Hsü-t'ang Chih-yü 虛堂智愚 (1185–1269), has been preserved in Japan, at the Daitokuji 大徳寺 of Kyoto.¹⁷

One of the highest observances in Ch'an monasteries throughout the year is on the eighth day of the twelfth month, the day on which Śākyamuni attained Supreme Enlightenment at the sight of the morning star, according to Ch'an Buddhist tradition. The congregation celebrates this redeeming event in the life of the Buddha among others with an uninterrupted meditation session lasting for more than seven days. This part of the annual festivities is known as *la-pa chieh-hsin* 臘八接心 (Japanese: *rōhachi sesshin*).

It comes to a close in the morning of the eighth day of the last month when a *Shussan Shaka* picture is hung up in the hall and the monks begin to recite the hymn of "Great Compassion" (*mahākaruṇa*, *ta-pei* 大悲).¹⁸ In this functional context of Ch'an practice the paintings representing Śākyamuni *Emerging from the Mountains* clearly testify to the Buddha's "Completing his Way" (*ch'eng-tao* 成道) after his harrowing sojourn of six years in the mountain wilderness. They distinguish themselves as memorial celebration pictures just as representations of the "Resurrection" do on Easter in the Christian church.

3. *The Earliest Representations of the Theme and the "Orthodox" Tradition*

A substantial body of surviving and recorded *Shussan Shaka* paintings bears witness to the popularity of this Ch'an theme during the Southern Sung period. Reliable sources, however, enable us to trace its development and most likely also its origin back into the Northern Sung dynasty.

It appears to be not altogether impossible that we owe the typological foundations of this religious subject as well as its acceptance and rise in the repertoire of Ch'an painting to the great literati artist Li Kunglin 李公麟 (ca. 1049–1106). He was highly admired not only by members of his own coterie but also by Buddhist monks of his time and region with whom he maintained friendly contacts. He is credited with what might have been the prototype of many later representations. The *Li-tai t'i-hua shih-lei* 歷代題畫詩類, ch. 65, records a lengthy

¹⁷ *Kokuhō* 國寶—National Treasures of Japan, 13th–14th Centuries, vol. 5 (Tokyo, 1966), no. 47.

¹⁸ Cf. Nakamura Hajime 中村元, *Shin Bukkyō jiten* 新佛教辭典 (Tokyo, 1962), p. 547a.

colophon of the Yüan poet Liu Kuan 柳貫 (1270–1342) for a *Shussan Shaka* painting by Li Kung-lin.¹⁹ The late Northern Sung master was recognized for his inventiveness and unorthodoxy in subject matter representing figures of the Buddhist pantheon in scenes, settings, poses and states that had no iconographical precedent.

Another picture of our theme is to be found among the extensive art treasures brought back to Japan by the Jōdo 淨土 priest Shunjōbō Chōgen 俊乗房重源 (1121–1206)²⁰ from one of his three trips to China between 1168 and 1203. Interestingly enough, on his first voyage Chōgen sailed on the same boat with Myōan Eisai 明庵榮西 (1141–1215), the initial proponent of Zen in Japan. The *Shaka Shussan-zō* 釋迦出山像, as it is entered in Chōgen's "Collection of Good Works," the *Namu-Amida-butsu sazen-shū* 南無阿彌陀佛作善集, is listed together with a series of sixteen Arhats in sixteen hanging scrolls.²¹ Unfortunately we are not told to which Japanese temple these paintings were presented. But we are on safe ground when we assume that not all typical Zen pictures also ended up in Zen monasteries. We know at least of one *Shussan Shaka* painting which came from a Kegon 華嚴 temple, the Kōzanji 高山寺 near Kyoto, and which

in all likelihood was copied during the first half of the thirteenth century after a lost imported Chinese prototype of the twelfth century. The iconographical sketch now in the Seattle Art Museum (*fig. 1*)²² as well as some other unpretentious ink-monochrome drawings of this type from the prolific Kōzanji workshop established during the lifetime of Myōe Shōnin 明恵上人 (1173–1232) manifests not only the well-known personal interest of the great Kegon reformer in Zen ideas and iconography, but also his activities in copying Chinese Buddhist paintings, book illustrations, drawings and rubbings. Myōe's affinities to Zen are further proven through his friendship with Myōan Eisai who went to China twice, on one occasion, as we have seen, with Shunjōbō Chōgen and who returned like his confrère of the "Pure Land" School with a number of paintings and other Buddhist memorabilia.

Similar considerations may apply to the *Shussan Shaka* in the Rikkyoku-an 栗棘庵, Kyoto,—a hanging scroll which apparently had later been enlarged at the top to fit with two plum blossom paintings (*fig. 2*).²³ All three pictures bear inscriptions by the fourth Tōfukuji 東福寺 abbot Hakuun Egyō 白雲慧曉 (1223–97). Between 1266 and 1279 the Rikkyoku-an founder spent the decisive years of his religious education in the foremost Ch'an institutions on the continent. He may well have brought back a Southern

¹⁹ Cf. Fontein and Hickman, *Zen Painting*, no. 28, p. 69. I am indebted to Dr. Jan Fontein of the MFA, Boston, for providing me with xerox copies of the pertinent passages from the *Li-tai t'i-hua shih-lei* 歷代題畫詩類.

²⁰ He gained a high reputation in the field of Buddhist architecture as director of the bureau established by Imperial decree to handle and supervise the rebuilding and repairing of the Tōdaiji 東大寺 at Nara after its burning in 1180. For detailed information on this matter see Alexander C. Soper, *The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan* (Princeton, 1942), pp. 211 ff.

²¹ Cf. *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究, no. 30 (June, 1934), p. 44 (298).

²² For a discussion see Sherman E. Lee, "Japanese Monochrome Painting at Seattle," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 14 1/2 (1951), pp. 43–61. The fourteenth-century date suggested by the authors of the catalogue *Ausstellung altjapanischer Kunst* (Berlin, 1939), no. 53, is no longer tenable.

²³ Matsushita Takaaki 松下隆章, *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本美術, *Suibokuga* 水墨畫, no. 13 (Tokyo, 1967), no. 34.

Sung *Shussan Shaka* painting which served himself, as some people assume, or another thirteenth-century Japanese artist, as prototype for the surviving Rikkyoku-an version. The possibility, however, that the painting was directly imported from Sung China cannot entirely be excluded. Yet, certain technical and stylistic features such as the pre-drawing along the contours of head and shoulder and the difficulties which become evident in joining the three-quarter view of the head with that of the body (which is more of a profile) point rather to a Japanese provenance of the Rikkyoku-an *Shussan Shaka* executed after a Chinese prototype. The anonymous painter cannot conceal some of the typical insecurities and misunderstandings of a copyist, not unlike those to be observed in the Kōzanji sketch of the Seattle Art Museum. Here too the foreshortening of the shoulders in a three-quarter view posed an insurmountable problem to the copyist. Little errors and awkward points in the organic treatment of a human figure become particularly evident at Śākyamuni's left foot, his right elbow, his displaced left ear and his right cheek.

What appears to be a tangible image of these presupposed but, in fact, altogether lost Chinese prototypes is provided by a Kanō school copy of a twelfth-century *Shussan Shaka* picture with an inscription of Sung-yüan Ch'ung-yo (1132-1202) (*fig. 3*). Large numbers of such copies were prepared during the seventeenth century in Japan. Their faithfulness may be checked in many cases in which not only the copies but also the Chinese originals survived (*figs. 15 and 16*). The question whether this particular painting actually reached Japan soon after its completion in the luggage of Buddhist pilgrims like Chōgen and Eisai cannot be

answered at all. Important, however, is the fact that we get an inkling of a certain type of *Shussan Shaka* picture executed in ink-monochrome, with few outlines, that predominated throughout the thirteenth century in China and Japan. This type is marked by a radical reduction (if not total elimination) of landscape setting as well as of sharp contrasts of ink values and elaborate washes and shadings. The origin of such pictures seems to go back at least as far as the twelfth century.

An interesting parallel to *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* is another typical Ch'an theme: *Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangtze on a Reed*. To be sure, the iconographical concepts of the two subjects have basically nothing in common, except for the fact that both personages are Indian protagonists of Ch'an Buddhism and that they are therefore given a non-Chinese countenance. But Śākyamuni and Bodhidharma are always depicted with their hands covered under the robe which in both subjects usually streams out in front of the figure conveying the impression of a fresh breeze and perhaps in a more figurative sense the "backing of nature" for these decisive steps. Besides an obvious fundamental spiritual alliance of Śākyamuni and Bodhidharma there seems to be a typological link in the artistic lineage of these two themes. Since available literary evidence²⁴ and known or extant paintings of *Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangtze on a Reed* do not go back beyond the early thirteenth century one is tempted to conclude that certain motifs and stylistic details to be observed in many Bodhidharma paintings of this kind actually came into existence through an

²⁴ Cf. Fontein and Hickman, *Zen Painting*, no. 22.

encounter with *Shussan Shaka* representations of the Southern Sung period. The earliest known version of the Bodhidharma theme may have been the ink painting in a Japanese private collection that was destroyed during the Second World War, according to Japanese information (*fig. 4*). It can be dated by its inscription before the year 1228, the year in which the author Ch'ang-weng Ju-ching 長翁如淨 (1163–1228) died. He was the thirty-first abbot on Mount T'ai-po and the teacher of one of the first eminent Japanese Zen masters, Kigen Dōgen 希玄道元 (1200–53), who returned from an almost five years' pilgrimage on the continent in 1227. The Bodhidharma painting displays striking similarities in its typological and artistic treatment to some of the early images of the *Shussan Shaka* theme.

Only little is known about some more Sung and Yüan versions of *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* recorded in various sources. Lu Po-ta 路伯達 (second half of the 12th century) supplied a colophon for a *Shussan Shaka* painting of the Chin dynasty; Liu Kuan (1270–1342) who is known to have inscribed a Li Kung-lin picture of the same subject provided a short colophon for yet another version.²⁵ The *Gyomotsu on-e mokuroku* 御物御畫目錄, an inventory of the shōgun Ashikaga collection at Kyoto compiled at the end of the fifteenth century, lists four imported Southern Sung representations of the theme: two by the great master Liang K'ai 梁楷 (active first half of the 13th century), one of which has survived in the collection of Shima Ei'ichi 志摩英一 of Tokyo (*fig. 5*), another one painted and inscribed

by the most distinguished Ch'an prelate Wu-chun Shih-fan 無準師範 (1177–1249) and the fourth picture by K'o-shan Ch'ao-jan 柯山超然 who is known from the *Kundaikan Sōchōki* 君臺觀左右帳記, another late fifteenth-century compilation by the noted painters and advisers to the Shōgun, Nōami 能阿彌 (1397–1471) and Sōami 相阿彌 (died 1525). The colophon of this last *Shussan Shaka* picture was written by the Ch'an master Hsü-t'ang Chih-yü (1185–1269).²⁶

Turning now to the earliest extant version of our subject, to Liang K'ai's masterpiece in the Shima collection, we encounter a type of *Shussan Shaka* representation that marks the opposite end of the spectrum.²⁷ It is believed to date from the first years after the turn of the century when Liang K'ai was still working as a *tai-chao* 待詔 for the Imperial Academy at Hang-chou in the Chia-t'ai 嘉泰 era (1201–04). This is not only suggested by his signature *Yü-ch'ien t'u-hua Liang K'ai* 御前圖畫梁楷 "Painter-in-Attendance Liang K'ai" but, in comparison with what appears to be his later, "abbreviated" cursive style, also by the more "academic" manner of this work. Contrasting it with the spontaneous ink-monochrome versions of the subject, the Shima painting is characterized by the use of color, the employment of a carefully calculated landscape composition and a preoccupation with detailed description. "Śākyamuni's robe is rendered in a pattern of meticulously interrelated lines; 'nail-headed' strokes are utilized to provide ac-

²⁶ For these two Japanese sources see Matsushita, *Nihon no bijutsu*, pp. 113–117, and Otto Kümmel, "Die chine sische Malerei im Kundaikwan Sayūchōki," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vol. 1 (1912–13), pp. 14 ff.

²⁷ For good reproductions see *Ryōkai* [Liang K'ai], ed. by the Institute of Art Research, Tokyo (Kyoto, 1957), pls. 1–3 and 26.

²⁵ For the complete texts see *Li-tai t'i-hua shih-lei*, ch. 65.

cent and dimension, while longer, curved lines give the robe weight and movement. Lifted by a light breeze, the robe flows out to the right. Its borders are rendered by two parallel sinuous lines."²⁸ This disciplined firm-stroke-and-flowing-line manner used for the drapery harks back to a much older tradition of orthodox Buddhist figure painting.

At the Daitokuji one of the "*Five Hundred Arhats*," a series originally painted by Chou Chi-ch'ang 周季常 and Lin T'ing-kuei 林庭珪 for the Hui-an-yüan 惠安院 southeast of Ning-p'o in the years between 1178 and 1188,²⁹ shares more than just this particular stylistic trait with Liang K'ai's *Shussan Shaka* (fig. 6). It is the general conception and artistic realization that link these two figures: the motif of the enlightened ascetic with "Indian" physiognomy emerging from a ravine, the attitude of introverted unobtrusiveness and the intensely moving expressiveness in the bearded face; the details of the the folded hands, covered by the garb which leaves the chest free, and the wind-blown robe, which curls into an intricate pattern in its lower part, pertinently compared in Chinese writings with "Scudding Clouds and Running Water" (*hsing-yün liu-shui* 行雲流水). Technically the two paintings, in time perhaps little more or less than two decades apart, differ only as much from each other as Lin T'ing-kuei's brushwork differs from that of Chou Chi-ch'ang. While the latter, who actually painted this particular Arhat image, centers the point of the brush for his suave curving

lines, Liang K'ai handles his brush with slightly more pressure and changing accent keeping the brush point to the left of his lines.³⁰ If we take into consideration that Chou and Lin had to face the problem of varying the *Gestalttypus* of the Arhat five hundred times for their large project of one hundred hanging scrolls we must assume that they employed all accessible artistic and iconographical conventions. Thus it may not be far from the point to presuppose an early twelfth-century *Shussan Shaka* picture for the Daitokuji Lohan.³¹ It is not completely inconceivable that Chou Chi-ch'ang and Liang K'ai drew from the same prototype. One should not forget two things: firstly, the fundamental spiritual bonds between Śākyamuni and the Arhats;³² and secondly, the fact that the *Shussan Shaka* painting in the Shima collection is totally uncharacteristic of Liang K'ai in its linear style and the use of color and that perhaps even the "untrammelled" artists remained under certain conditions and circumstances in keeping with more orthodox traditions of Buddhist painting.

A similar inheritance may account for the *Shussan Shaka*-like appearance of one of the Arhats in the handscroll of the Freer Gallery of Art attributed to Fan-lung 梵隆 (active first half of the 12th century) (fig. 7). It might take us even further back in time. Fan-lung was a Ch'an Buddhist monk painter in the artistic lineage of the influential Northern Sung literatus Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106). Although the hand-

²⁸ Fontein and Hickman, *Zen Painting*, p. 56.

²⁹ Cf. Max Loehr, "Chinese Paintings with Sung Dated Inscriptions," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 4 (1961), p. 256, and Wen Fong, *The Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven*, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, vol. 3, no. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1958).

³⁰ Cf. Wen Fong, *The Lohans*, pp. 6 ff.

³¹ This idea has already been expressed by Wen Fong in his excellent, however, unpublished dissertation "Five Hundred Lohans at the Daitokuji," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1956), p. IV.

³² See Seckel, *Shākyamunis*, pp. 52 ff. and Fontein and Hickman, *Zen Painting*, pp. 24 ff.

scroll may be a work of the Yüan period, as some believe,³³ it nevertheless represents the thin and precise line-drawing manner (*pai-miao* 白描) of the Li school in its finest form. We should not forget that Li Kung-lin is supposed to have painted one of the earliest, if not the first, version of the *Shussan Shaka* theme, perhaps in such plain delineation. "His models for the creation of this style were probably ink sketches in Buddhist iconographic sketchbooks, cartoons for wall paintings, and other works, that were not in themselves considered 'finished' productions."³⁴

Liang K'ai's representation of our subject surely remained not without great impact on later generations of Chinese and Japanese painters.³⁵ There is a painting in ink and color on silk in an unknown Chinese collection with an untenable attribution to the Southern Sung academy painter Ma Lin 馬麟 (active first half of the 13th century). It is probably a work of the Yüan period which basically follows Liang K'ai's composition, although more attention is focussed here upon the landscape than on the Śākyamuni figure (*fig. 8*).³⁶

Another picture in this tradition is said to date from the Yüan dynasty (*fig. 9*). It belongs to the Atami Art Museum and retains a stronger orthodox attitude in the treatment of the figure.³⁷ The Buddha wears

a two-colored robe lavishly decorated with elaborate floral and geometric patterns in gold. Long, streaming, elegant lines, typical in this particular quality, not only of Buddhist figure painting around 1300 in China but also in Japan, describe the fall of the heavy fabric. Dark curly hair borders Śākyamuni's unconcerned looking face. The protuberance on top of his head and a golden spot on his forehead mark the *uṣṇīṣa* and *urṇā*, while a golden outlined halo around the head gives special emphasis to the Buddha's Enlightenment.

A rather strange Yüan *Shussan Shaka* which was recently published by Toda Teisuke 戸田禎佑 is kept at the Daikakuji 大覺寺, Hyōgo Prefecture.³⁸ This picture is unusual in many ways: the Buddha's hands are neither folded nor covered by the densely draped robe. His right hand is raised in front of his breast; his left arm, hanging down, kept closely to the body with the hand outstretched. The figure is rendered in a nearly frontal view though Śākyamuni seems to walk towards the right. His head, on the other hand, is turned over his right shoulder, and a widely curving ray emanates from his left eye. Here the Buddha takes on an almost grotesque appearance. In his too deliberate and somewhat obtrusive archaism the anonymous painter nevertheless marks an interesting intermediate

³³ Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting, Leading Masters and Principles* (London, 1956-58), vol. 2, Annotated lists of paintings, p. 49.

³⁴ James Cahill in his monograph article on Li Kung-lin in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 9 (New York, Toronto, London, 1964), p. 248.

³⁵ The author is planning to discuss the Japanese material in a different context.

³⁶ *I-yüan i-chen* 藝苑遺珍—*A Garland of Chinese Paintings*, compiled by Wang Shih-chieh 王世杰, Na Chih-liang 那志良 and Chang Wan-li 張萬里, vol. 1 (Kowloon, Hongkong, 1967), pl. 32. By the same

hand is a landscape likewise attributed to Ma Lin which was formerly in a private collection in Japan; see Ernst Grosse, *Die Ostasiatische Tuschmalerei* (Die Kunst des Ostens, ed. by William Cohn, vol. 4) (Berlin, 1922), pl. 17.

³⁷ For a complete view of the picture see *Selected Catalogue of Hakone Art Museum/Atami Art Museum*, vol. 1 (Atami, 1968), no. 29. The appearance of the two armed figures of "Heavenly Generals" at the top of the painting cannot be explained by the author.

³⁸ *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 276 (July, 1971), pl. 6.



FIG. 1.—SHUSSAN SHAKA. Artist unknown.
Early thirteenth-century copy from the Kōzanji
workshop after a twelfth-century Chinese prototype.
Mounted as hanging scroll, ink on paper.
Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection. Courtesy,
The Seattle Art Museum.



FIG. 2.—SHUSSAN SHAKA. Artist unknown; second half of the
thirteenth century. Japanese version of an early thirteenth century
Chinese prototype. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.
Detail. Rikkyoku-an, Kyoto.



FIG. 3.—SHUSSAN SHAKA. Artist unknown. Kanō school copy of a late twelfth-century Chinese painting with a colophon by Sung-yüan Ch'ung-yo (1132–1202). Section of a handscroll, ink on paper. Tokyo National Museum.



FIG. 4.—BODHIDHARMA CROSSING THE YANGTZE ON A REED. Artist unknown. China. Early thirteenth century; colophon by Ch'ang-weng Ju-ching (1163–1223). Hanging scroll (lost), ink on paper. Formerly in a Japanese private collection.



FIG. 5.—SHUSSAN SHAKA by Liang K'ai (active first half of the thirteenth century).
Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. Detail. Collection of Shima Ei'ichi, Tokyo.



FIG. 6.—THE FIVE HUNDRED ARHATS by Chou Chi-ch'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei (active second half of the twelfth century), 1178–88. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. Detail. Daitokuji, Kyoto.



FIG. 7.—ARHATS attributed to Fan-lung (active first half of the twelfth century). Detail of a handscroll, ink on paper. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 8.—SHUSSAN SHAKA attributed to Ma Lin (active first half of the thirteenth century). Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. Unknown Chinese collection (after *I-yüan i-chen—A Garland of Chinese Paintings*, pl. 32).



FIG. 9.—SHUSSAN SHAKA. Artist unknown. Yüan period. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. Detail. Atami Art Museum.



FIG. 10.—SHUSSAN SHAKA. Artist unknown; colophon by Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung (1170–1251), 1244. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.
Courtesy, The Cleveland Museum of Art.



FIG. 11.—SHUSSAN SHAKA. Artist unknown; colophon by Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung (1170–1251), 1246. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.
Japanese private collection.



FIG. 12.—SHUSSAN SHAKA. Artist unknown; colophon by Hsi-yen Liao-hui (1198–1262). Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 13.—Detail of figure 12.



FIG. 14.—ARHATS attributed to Fan-lung (active first half of the twelfth century).
Detail of a handscroll, ink on paper. Freer Gallery of Art.

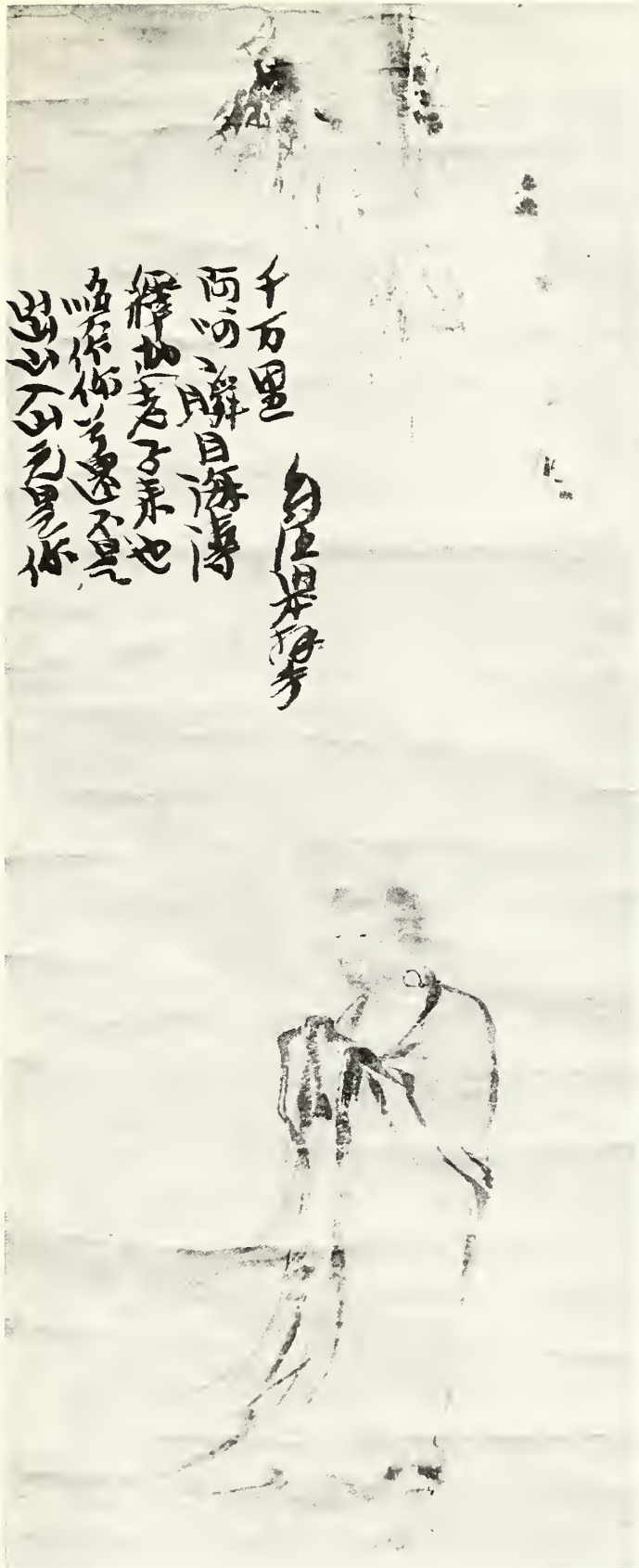


FIG. 15.—SHUSSAN SHAKA. Artist unknown; colophon by Chung-feng Ming-pen (1264–1325). Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Hatakeyama Kinenkan, Tokyo.



FIG. 16.—SHUSSAN SHAKA. Artist unknown. Kanō school copy of the Hatakeyama painting with an inscription by Chung-feng Ming-pen (1264–1325). Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Tokyo National Museum.

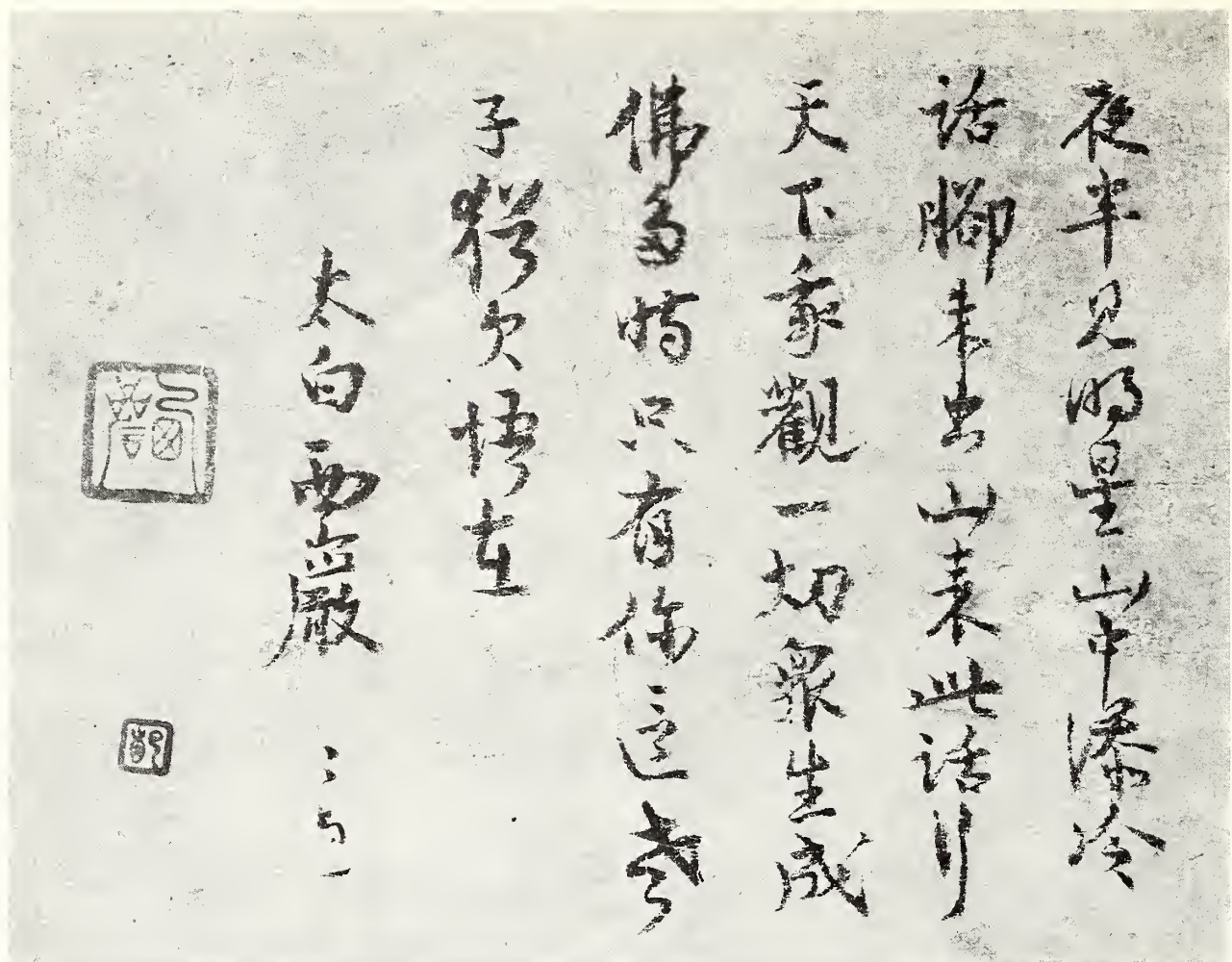


FIG. 17.—COLOPHON BY HSI-YEN LIAO-HUI on the Freer Shussan Shaka. Detail of figure 12.

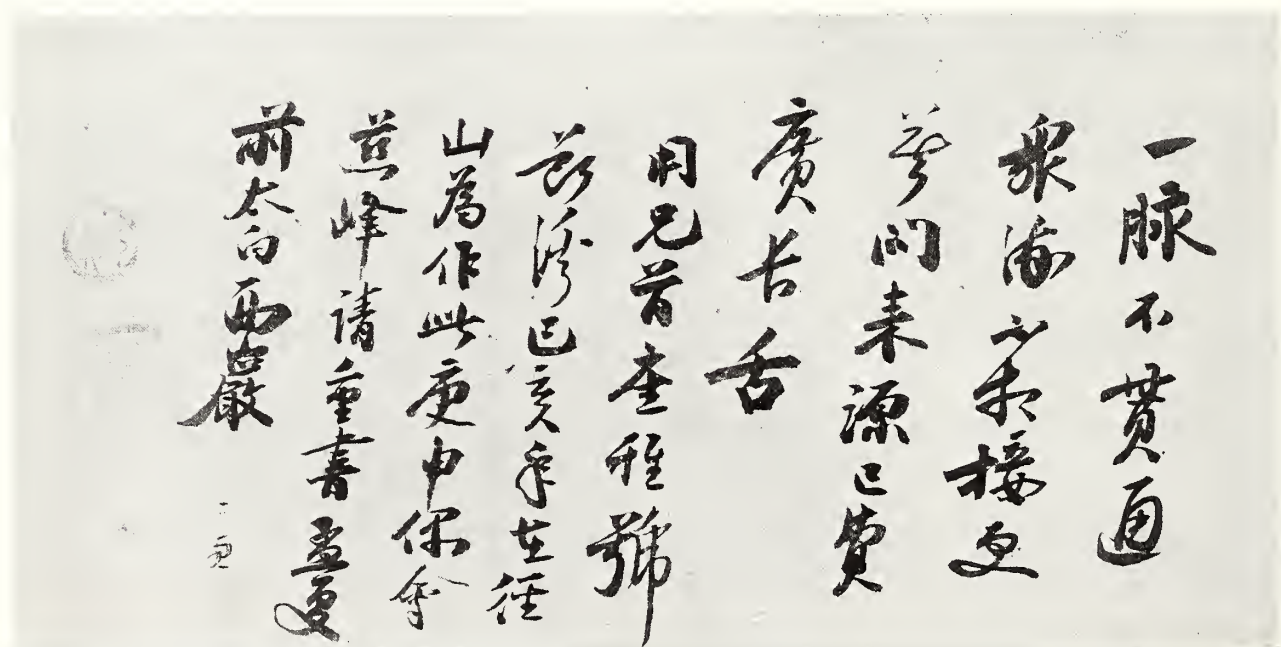


FIG. 18.—TAO-HAO-SUNG BY HSI-YEN LIAO-HUI for his friend Tuan-ch'i Miao-yung, 1260.
Mounted as hanging scroll, ink on paper. Collection of the late Hosokawa Moritatsu,
Tokyo (after Tayama Honan, *Zenrin bokuseki*, vol. 1, pl. 66).



FIG. 19.—COLOPHON BY HSI-YEN LIAO-HUI
on a painting representing Han-shan. Artist
unknown. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.
Detail. Japanese private collection.

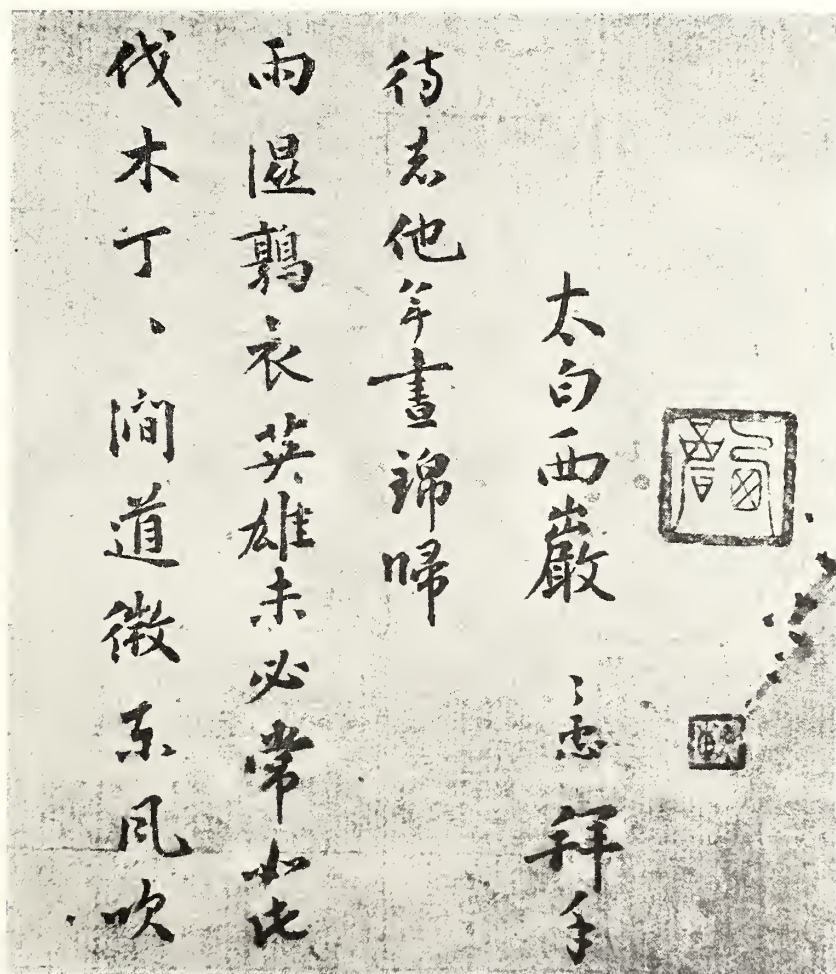


FIG. 20.—COLOPHON BY HSI-YEN LIAO-HUI (?) on a painting representing
the Sixth Patriarch. Artist unknown. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.
Detail. Japanese private collection (after *Kobijutsu*, no. 23, p. 98).

stage in the development of orthodox Chinese figure painting on the way to such fantastic and bizarre masters as Ting Yün-p'eng 丁雲鵬 (ca. 1575–1638), Ts'ui Tzu-chung 崔子忠 (died 1644) and Ch'en Hung-shou 陳洪綬 (1598–1652).

4. *The Ink-Monochrome Tradition and the Freer Shussan Shaka*

Apart from this orthodox tradition of representing the subject with a full landscape setting and using both color and a rather archaic type of linear drawing for the figure, another artistic concept of the *Shussan Shaka* theme prevailed throughout the thirteenth century into the Yüan dynasty, eliminating or reducing the landscape elements to a minimum and working exclusively in ink-monochrome. These two traditions existed simultaneously side by side, as we have already pointed out.

The earliest extant version of this second group came to light only recently. It was acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1970 and bears an encomium by Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung dated in correspondence with 1244 (*fig. 10*). The concept of the returning Śākyamuni and the simple composition of the picture is not unlike the one in the Kōzanji drawing at Seattle (*fig. 1*). The mountains from which the Buddha is emerging are limited to a gentle slope in the foreground rendered by an evenly spread gray ink wash and a few darker dots. Subtle shadings accompany the soft, flowing lines of the drapery. They provide dimension and movement for Śākyamuni's loose robe billowing in the wind. It swings out towards the right and ends in pointed folds. These stylistic features and the comparatively detailed treatment of the face with its introverted expression, the eyes focussed on

the ground, remind us of the *Sixth Patriarch* in the Daitōkyū Kinen Bunko 大東急記念文庫, Tokyo, by Chih-weng Jo-ching 直翁若敬 (active first half of the 13th century)³⁹ who perhaps was a disciple of Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung, the writer of the inscription on the Cleveland *Shussan Shaka*. We know that Chih-weng also used a seal with the two characters Jo-ching and this name, in turn, appears in Ch'ih-chüeh's "Collected Writings" (*Ch'ih-chüeh lu* 癡絕錄).

Shortly after 1244, the date of the Cleveland painting, Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung must have moved from Mount T'ai-po to the Ling-yin-ssu 靈隱寺 where he composed another colophon for a *Shussan Shaka* picture dated in correspondence with 1246 (*fig. 11*).⁴⁰ He resided at this monastery as thirty-fifth abbot. The famous Ch'an institution on the shore of the scenic West Lake near Hang-chou was not unfamiliar to him, because he had embarked there on his career as a young novice in 1197 under the guidance of Sung-yüan Ch'ung-yo. Like the painting of the same subject inscribed by his revered teacher at the same place and in the same capacity, only about half a century earlier (*fig. 3*), Ch'ih-chüeh wrote his encomium on an ink-monochrome painting which represents Śākyamuni in

³⁹ *Sōgen no kaiga* 宋元の繪畫—*Chinese Painting of the Sung and Yüan Dynasties*, ed. by the Tokyo National Museum (Tokyo, 1962), 2nd edition, 1971, no. 29, and *Kokuhō*, vol. 5, no. 24.

⁴⁰ Besides several calligraphies (cf. Imaeda Aishin 今枝愛眞: *Shintei zusetsu bokuseki soshiden* 新訂圖說墨蹟祖師傳 [Tokyo, 1970], nos. 32–33, pp. 76 f.) Ch'ih-chüeh is known to have provided inscriptions for a Pu-tai painting in the Kitamura 北村 collection and for a picture representing two Arhats and a young novice in an anonymous Japanese private collection (see *Tōyō bijutsu* 東洋美術—*Asiatic Art in Japanese Collections*, ed. by Tanaka Ichimatsu 田中一松, Yonezawa Yoshiho 米澤嘉圃 and Kawakami Kei 川上涇, *Kaiga* 繪畫 I, vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1967), pl. 71.

pale, sweeping brushstrokes on the void ground. The anonymous artist entirely dispensed with the landscape so that all attention here is focussed on the walking Buddha.

In regard to this epitomized style the *Shussan Shaka* painting in a Japanese private collection favorably compares with the *Feng-kan* 豐干 and *Pu-tai* 布袋 scrolls at the Myōshinji 妙心寺, Kyoto, the latter of which is signed by Li Ch'üeh 李確.⁴¹ According to Hsia Wen-yen 夏文彥, the author of the fourteenth-century biographical compilation *T'u-hui pao-chien* 圖繪寶鑑 (ch. 4, preface dated 1365), Li Ch'üeh was a native of Hang-chou in Chekiang Province where the *Shussan Shaka* painting of 1246 actually originated. Working at the Imperial Academy he is said to have studied the sketches of Liang K'ai who is credited by many biographers with the introduction of the "abbreviated" brush technique (*chien-pi* 減筆). Li Ch'üeh was one of the Southern Sung Academy members who associated with Ch'an priests of his time and region, as not only evidenced by the subject of the Myōshinji scrolls but also by the colophons on them by the renowned Ch'an prelate Yen-ch'i Kuang-wen 偃谿廣聞 (1189–1263).⁴² The affinities of Li Ch'üeh's works of the early sixties and the *Shussan Shaka* painting inscribed by Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung in 1246 are in fact so close that one is tempted to attribute the latter to the same hand. A comparison of the spontaneous brushwork, the bold, simple strokes of varying width for the drapery, the man-

ner of changing their direction, the evenly drawn, thin and precise lines for the anatomic parts, the homogeneous pale ink tones and the combined use of wet and dry ink, reveals at least a remarkable consistency among the three works.

Not quite as radical in the elimination of all unessential brushstrokes and for that reason perhaps a little less spontaneous than Li Ch'üeh is the anonymous painter of the *Shussan Shaka* picture in the Freer Gallery of Art (figs. 12 and 13).⁴³ His brushwork appears to be much more calculated, more rational. In the treatment of the anatomic features the painting even displays a somewhat exaggerated preoccupation with minute detail. In fact, the rendering of Śākyamuni's robe in long sweeping, pale brushstrokes swelling and tapering in perfectly controlled rhythms and accompanied by subtle, light gray ink washes shows a certain inconsistency in regard to the meticulous drawing of the face, the bare shoulder and the feet with dark incisive, fine lines. A marked discrepancy of artistic conception becomes manifest and can only be interpreted as a blending of two different traditions: the dynamic, cursory method of ink-monochrome painting usually associated with Ch'an subjects and artists of the Southern Sung period and the precise line-drawing technique for which Li Kung-lin of the Northern Sung dynasty has been so highly credited. A comparison

⁴¹ *Sōgen no kaiga*, nos. 26–27, and Fontein and Hickman, *Zen Painting*, no. 7.

⁴² Kuang-wen wrote these colophons between 1261 and 1263 during his residence on Mount Ching as thirty-seventh abbot of the Wan-shou-ssu 萬壽寺.

⁴³ The painting was acquired by the Freer Gallery in 1965 from Mayuyama and Company, Tokyo. It formerly belonged to the Kawasaki 川崎 collection, Osaka, and to the collection of Yamaoka Sentarō 山岡千太郎, Hyōgo Prefecture. It has been previously published in *Kawasaki danshaku-ke zōhin nyūsatsu mokuroku* 川崎男爵家藏品八札目錄 (Osaka, 1928), no. 11, *Sōgen minshin meiga taikan* 宋元明清名畫大觀 (Tokyo, 1931), no. 72, and in the *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 20 (1966–67), p. 91, fig. 21.

of Śākaymuni's face, its curly beard and hair in particular, with one of the Arhat images in the Freer handscroll attributed to a follower of the much-admired Northern Sung literatus, to the Ch'an priest Fan-lung (*fig. 14*), elucidates our point rather eloquently. The rendering of the robe, especially the loop-like twisted endings of the drapery, in the Freer *Shussan Shaka*, on the other hand, can be comfortably linked with that of a *Seated Pu-tai* accompanied by a sleeping child on his bag.⁴⁴ The anonymous painting in the Tokugawa Reimeikai 徳川黎明会, Tokyo, is datable to the years around 1250 (before 1254) when Yen-ch'i Kuang-wen, the author of the colophon, served as abbot in the fortieth generation at the Ching-tz'u-ssu 淨慈寺 on the Nan-shan 南山. From all these observations one might conclude that the anonymous artist of the Freer *Shussan Shaka* was quite familiar with the prevalent contemporary trends in Ch'an painting, but not less cognizant of the main artistic canons of the past. His work is a highly personal response to this challenging confrontation. The artist followed his own inclinations and combined two general tendencies of Northern and Southern Sung painting in one picture.

The Freer hanging scroll representing *Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* has been traditionally attributed to the obscure master Hu Chih-fu 胡直夫. Chinese biographical records contain no information at all about his life and work. He is known only from an early Japanese source, the *Kundaikan Sōchōki*, which ranks him among the artists of the top category.⁴⁵ No less than three versions of our subject have been con-

nected with his name (*figs. 3, 12 and 15*), but they range in time from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries and in style according to an almost equally wide scale. Thus, it is impossible to ascertain any conclusive notion of Hu Chih-fu's career (or even his existence?) and *oeuvre*.

Leaving the problem of attribution aside and turning now to the question of dating, we have already observed that certain stylistic features of the Freer *Shussan Shaka* correspond with several characteristics in Ch'an painting of the period around 1250. This date is supported by the inscription on top of the hanging scroll. It was written by the Ch'an priest Hsi-yen Liao-hui (1198–1262) during his residence on Mount T'ai-po in Ch'ing-yüan-fu 慶元府 near present day Ning-p'o. He served there as abbot in the thirty-ninth generation succeeding Pien-shan Liao-ch'ien 辯山了阡 and the two most distinguished Ch'an prelates Ch'ih-chüeh Tao-ch'ung and Mieh-weng Wen-li 滅翁文禮 (1167?–1250?). Hsi-yen must have retired from the famous T'ien-t'ung-ssu in or before 1260, because in a written document dated to the mid-summer of that year he used the phrase "Formerly [in residence] at Mount T'ai-po" followed by his signature (*fig. 18*). A circular seal which he only used in his last years refers to his new residence, the Huan-chih-t'an 幻智塔庵. Little is known about Hsi-yen Liao-hui's earlier career. He is said to be a native of Szechwan. It appears, however, that he spent the second and perhaps the greater part of his life in Chekiang. The calligraphy informs us further about his studies in the Wan-shou-ssu on Mount Ching which was headed between 1232 and 1249 by the highly esteemed master Wu-chun Shih-fan 無準師範. Under his guidance Hsi-yen is likely to have com-

⁴⁴ *Sōgen no kaiga*, no. 28.

⁴⁵ Cf. also Werner Speiser, "Hu Dschifu," *Sinica*, 16, Jahrgang (1941), Heft 1–6, pp. 152–161.

pleted his studies sometime after 1239, the year and circumstances commemorated in the calligraphy. This document shall be discussed later. From the available facts one can conclude that the Freer Shussan Shaka was painted between 1239 and 1260, most likely in the years around the middle of the thirteenth century.

The "unorthodox" tradition of rendering the theme in the abbreviated ink-monochrome manner continued into the Yüan period, as evidenced by the fine painting in the Hatakeyama Kinenkan, Tokyo (fig. 15). It used to be in the possession of the Sakai 酒井 family. A copy of this picture, probably dating from the seventeenth century, bears witness to the skill and accuracy of the Kanō painters who tried their hands at reproducing a large number of Chinese paintings accessible to them in Japan (fig. 16). The undated colophon of the Hatakeyama painting was written by Chao Meng-fu's 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) venerated friend Chung-feng Ming-pen 中峰明本 (1264–1325). Contrary to the regular mode of Chinese script, the T'ien-mu-shan 天目山 abbot wrote his poem—well balanced in the whole of the composition—from left to right on the picture. At first glance, this might strike one as an individual habit of the eccentric Ch'an monk. However, closer examination of available visual material and literary sources establishes this unusual feature as a largely valid rule in Ch'an figure painting. The writer begins his inscription according to the position of the central figure: if it is facing towards the left he starts on that side; if it turns to the right the colophon runs in the regular way of Chinese writing from right to left. This postulate applies in particular to Ch'an Bud-

dhist portrait painting. Portrait specialists apparently employed it to distinguish posthumous and contemporary portraits.⁴⁶ But this convention was already criticized in Yüan times. The Ch'an priest Chu-hsien 竺仙梵僊 (1292–1349), who taught in Japan since 1329, explains in his epilogue to the chapter on "The Fitting Facing Direction in Portraiture" (*Ting-hsiang chao-hsiang so-i* 頂相朝向所宜) of his *T'ien-chu-chi* 天桂集: "Everyone, who paints a portrait (*ting-hsiang*, [Japanese: *chinsō*]) of a master of our school, should let [the sitter] face towards West [i.e., left]. Some people say, if it is done during his lifetime, [the master] should face towards East [i.e., right]. One should not listen to these words."⁴⁷ (*Appendix I.*)

In the Hatakeyama version of the *Shussan Shaka* theme, which is in accord with the effective "unorthodox" conventions, the Buddha is shown in a three-quarter view towards the left. The three-quarter view certainly was the predominant position for this subject. Unlike the Seattle and the Freer Shussan Shaka both shoulders are covered by the robe which is rendered in bold brushstrokes of varying gray ink tones. As almost all *Chinese* versions of the theme, with the exception of the picture carrying a spurious Ma Lin signature and the Yüan (or perhaps even Japanese?) painting at Atami, the early fourteenth-century version

⁴⁶ I have discussed this question at greater length in my unpublished dissertation and also briefly in the article "Ein Zen-Priesterbildnis der Tokugawa-Zeit," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatique*, vol. 23, nos. 1–2 (1969), pp. 12 ff.

⁴⁷ This passage is contained and commented upon in Mujaku Dōchū's 無著道忠 (1653–1744) work *Zenrin shokisen* 禪林象器箋 (chapter 5) first published in 1741.

with an inscription by Chung-feng Ming-pen has *no halo*. This simple detail reveals a marked contrast to the overwhelming majority of *Japanese* representations of the theme.

The Hatakeyama *Shussan Shaka* probably finds its closest resemblances in the Cleveland painting of 1244 (*fig. 10*): the brushwork employed for the drapery of the wind-blown robe and the soft ink wash used for rendering the hair show great affinities. At the same time, however, the confrontation of these two works separated in time by about three quarters of a century, seems to evince certain characteristic distinctions between Sung and Yüan painting. In the Yüan version only a few ink splashes and coarse brushstrokes have been added in the upper right-hand corner to indicate something of the mountains from which Śākyamuni is returning. The figure itself appears on the void ground, but it actually has no clear spatial relation to the overhanging cliff above. This seems to be inconceivable for a Sung artist. The anonymous master of the Cleveland painting also shows the Buddha in front of an empty background, but standing or walking on a solid, sloping ground, just as the twelfth-century Chinese painter did who provided the prototype for the Kōzanji sketch at Seattle (*fig. 1*). If landscape elements are utilized at all in figure paintings of this type, the Sung artist usually makes a clear statement about the spatial situation in his picture, while the Yüan artist leaves this question open. He makes only a vague, if not inconsistent suggestion of how one possibly can conceive of the depth in his composition. To him such landscape elements appear to be more of a conventional formula,

a chance to exercise brushwork, not a necessary, integral part of his composition.

5. *Hsi-yen Liao-hui and his Calligraphies*

From Hsi-yen Liao-hui's hand, who wrote the colophon for the Freer *Shussan Shaka* (*fig. 17*), several other written documents have survived, the most important being his "Ode on the Buddhist Sobriquet" (*tao-hao-sung* 道號頌) of his confrère Tuan-ch'i 斷溪, the "Ceasing Stream," in the collection of the late Hosokawa Moritatsu 細川護立, Tokyo (*fig. 18*). Tuan-ch'i is known also by his formal appellation (*fa-hui* 法諱) as Miao-yung 妙用. His activities can be documented between 1239 and 1269. The two Ch'an priests studied during the late thirties on Mount Ching under one of China's most celebrated religious teachers, Wu-chun Shih-fan (1177–1249). By chance, they met again in 1260 and on the request of his visitor the retired abbot of the T'ien-t'ung-ssu wrote the extant calligraphy commemorating their long friendship:

"A single vein does not run through [the whole].

All currents do not join [in one].

All the more, do not ask about the source, [Because much] eloquence has already been wasted [upon this]. For Brother [Miao-] Yung, the head monk-in-attendance, called the "Ceasing Stream" by his sobriquet, with whom I lived together on Mount Ching during the *chi-hai* [year, 1239], I composed this here. When we met accidentally in the *keng-shen* [year, 1260] on the "Peak of Compassion" (*Tz'u-feng*) he asked me to write it again. In the mid-summer—Hsi-yen Liao-hui, formerly [in residence] at the

T'ai-po [-shan]."⁴⁸ (*Appendix J.*)

This calligraphy as well as the colophon on the *Freer Shussan Shaka* is executed in running script. With his somewhat perfunctorily written characters Hsi-yen Liao-hui attempts without doubt to follow the style of Wu-chun Shih-fan, though lacking the elegance and refinement of his master.⁴⁹ Hsi-yen's calligraphy is well balanced; each character evolves in unembellished form from the rhythm of his brush and turns into an organically interlocked unit of strokes. His writing is firm and sober, devoid of any affected eccentricity.

A character-by-character analysis of the *Freer Shussan Shaka* colophon and the *Tuan-ch'i tao-hao-sung* reveals the definite identity of the writer's hand. One has only to compare the signature and the preceding mountain name of his monastery or the indicative characters *shan* 山, *lai* 來, *tz'u* 此, *chung* 衆 and *tsai* 在. It seems as if the inscription on the Freer painting was written

⁴⁸ For a further comment upon these lines interpreting the name Tuan-ch'i, cf. p. 25: "When all streams are cut off..." and Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk*, pp. 71 f. It might be interesting to note that a *tao-hao-sung* by Tuan-ch'i was written in 1269 on the Buddhist sobriquet "White Cloud" (*Pai-yün*, [*Hakuun* 白雲]) dedicated to his Japanese disciple Hakuun Egyō (1223-97) whom we remember as author of the colophon on the Rikkyoku-an *Shussan Shaka* (fig. 2). This document has been preserved in the Tokiwayama Bunko 常盤山文庫, Kamakura (see Imaeda, *Shintei*, no. 42). A portrait depicting Tuan-ch'i Miao-yung found its way to Japan at an early date. It had an inscription of Ta-hsiu Cheng-nien 大休正念 (1215-89) and was once kept in the Engakuji's Butsunichi-an 佛日庵 at Kamakura. The *chinsō* is listed in an old inventory of that monastery, the *Butsunichi-an kōmotsu mokuroku* 佛日庵公物目録, dating from the years 1363/65 (cf. Matsushita, *Nihon no bijutsu*, p. 113a).

⁴⁹ Cf., for example, Wu-chun's inscription on his own portrait for Ben'en Enni 辯圓圓爾 (1202-80) in the Tōfukuji, Kyoto, dated in correspondence with 1238 (Imaeda, *Shintei*, no. 28).

with a worn out and scrubby brush. The small square seals with Hsi-yen's formal appellation *Liao-hui* 了惠 are identical on both documents, while the larger ones above differ in their arrangement of the elements forming the two characters *Hsi-yen* 西巖.

A third calligraphy by Hsi-yen, a colophon on an unpretentious *Han-shan* picture in a Japanese private collection, comes rather close to the discussed documents, although it carries a different *Hsi-yen* seal at the end (fig. 19).⁵⁰ Not convincing at all is the colophon on an altogether disappointing picture of the *Sixth Patriarch* with a spurious Mu-ch'i 牧谿 seal (fig. 20). This painting was recently published by Tayama Hōnan 田山方南.⁵¹ Even if one argues that the inscription is written in regular script it seems too far removed from the rest of the available evidence to be seriously considered an authentic work of the Ch'an master Hsi-yen Liao-hui. The seals pretend to be identical with those on the Freer painting, but their appearance is rather that of a hard, mechanical reproduction.

A survey in conclusion of our discussion clearly establishes one important fact: during Sung and Yüan times Ch'an paintings such as the *Shussan Shaka* theme attracted only a small number of people, among them literati as well as court academicians and purely religiously inclined adepts of the

⁵⁰ The colophon may be translated as follows:
"In his hand a sūtra scroll

With characters over characters which nobody knows.

Barefooted he comes down from [Mount] O-mei. Nine times nine is eighty-one . . . !

Hsi-yen Liao-hui salutes with respectfully folded hands."

(*Appendix K.*)

⁵¹ *Kobijutsu* 古美術, no. 23 (Sept., 1968), pp. 97-99.

school. The frequent occurrence of the same names of Ch'an masters in different institutions may be due to a certain extent to the system of rotating appointments to renowned abbot's chairs, especially on the "Five Mountains" (*wu-shan* 五山) in the

Chekiang area. But at the same time it indicates something of the intricate bonds of mutual friendship and the close circle of kindred spirits under whose patronage and stimulation this art was produced, appreciated and sought.

APPENDIX

- A 聖諦廓然
何當辨的
- B 入山太枯瘦
雪上帶霜寒
冷眼得一星
何再出人間
淳祐甲辰八月二日
太白后山道冲贊
- C 幻住明本拜手
千萬里
呵呵々瞬目海濤
釋迦老子來也
喚作你兮還不是
出山入山元是你
- D 龐眉袖手出巖阿
及至拈花事已訛
千古雪山山下路
杖藜無處避藤蘿
- E 雪嶺六年本體成
現絕見明星爲物
所轉非物轉略爲
群機通一線淳祐
丙午春靈隱道冲贊
- F 夜半踰城龍章
鳳姿放憨放癡
尊貴不知不耐
飢寒出山日强謂
六年成道時
靈隱比丘崇岳拜贊
- G 入山出山東湧
西沒鳳質龍姿
弊衣疲骨六載
所成々濕口
沙門惠日
- H 夜半見明星山中添冷
話脚未出山來此話行
天下我觀一切衆生成
佛多時只有你這老
子猶欠悟在
太白西巖了慧
- I 凡畫宗師頂相
宜面西向
或謂生前
作者則東
此言勿聽
- J 一脉不貫通
衆流不相接更
莫問來源已費
廣長舌
用兄首座雅號
斷溪己亥年在徑會
山爲作此庚申偶會
慈峰請重書孟夏
前太白西巖了慧
- K 手內一卷經字々
無人識赤脚下
峨眉九々八十一
西巖了惠拜手

TWO CHINESE CARVED LACQUER BOXES OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN THE FREER GALLERY OF ART BY HARRY M. GARNER

THE MANUFACTURE OF CARVED LACQUER IN China, as we know it today, started in earnest some time during the Yüan dynasty and reached its highest standards during the fifteenth century, after which there was a marked decline. In these respects its history is very similar to that of blue-and-white porcelain. The two lacquer boxes chosen for discussion in this paper, one belonging to the earlier and the other to the later part of the fifteenth century, are very different in their stylistic and technical qualities and serve to illustrate the methods of manufacture adopted in this golden period of the decorative arts.

The development of carved lacquer came late in the history of lacquer manufacture in China. This at first sight surprising fact, for a country with a genius for carving all kinds of material, from the hardest jade to relatively soft materials such as bone, ivory and wood, was governed by the peculiar setting qualities of lacquer. It is not possible to build up lacquer of sufficient thickness for carving except by applying layer after layer of thin lacquer and allowing each layer to set before the next is applied. For a piece of lacquer of high quality, such as the two boxes considered here, between 100 and 200 layers are needed, each of which takes several days to set and has to be ground smooth before the next layer is applied. Such a piece would require two years to make before it could be handed to the carver. The Chinese, and the Japanese after them, must have made great efforts to avoid this costly procedure, with-

out any success. The method has remained the only one capable of producing carved lacquer down to the present day.

Some experimental methods of producing carved lacquer were attempted in the late Chou and Han dynasties, but it was not until the T'ang dynasty that the first true carved lacquer was made. The evidence for this comes not from China itself but from Turkestan. In 1906 Aurel Stein discovered scales of armor at Fort Miran, a few hundred miles west of Tun-huang.¹ The scales, made of camel hide, were covered with from 20 to 30 layers of lacquer carved into simple geometric shapes, such as circles and crescents. Several different colors were used, so that the designs have a marbled effect, resembling the lacquer described by the Japanese term *guri* 屈輪.²

Hundreds of wooden tablets inscribed in Tibetan, as well as paper documents, were found side by side with the armor plates in rubbish dumps. Fortunately these fragile objects had been perfectly preserved in the dry climate of Turkestan. The inscriptions refer entirely to matters of administration and indicate that there was an effective civil government in the Tarim Basin at the time that Fort Miran was occupied. From the evidence of the inscriptions Stein de-

¹ Sir Mark Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1921), pp. 459-467. The armor is illustrated in vol. 4, pl. L.

² See the author's "Guri Lacquer of the Ming Dynasty," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 31 (1957-59), pp. 61-75 for a full discussion of the armor.

duced that the Tibetan occupation stretched from the last third of the eighth century to about the middle of the ninth century. There can be no doubt that the armor is Chinese and that it was captured by Tibetan troops during their invasion of Kansu during the eighth century.

Only one reference to carved lacquer in the T'ang dynasty is known, a passage in the *Yin-hua lu* 因語錄, by Chao Lin 趙璘, a writer in the ninth century who took his *chin-shih* 進士 degree in 838. The passage describes a type of lacquer known by the term *hsi-p'i* 西皮.³ This term has been a source of controversy among sinologists, both as regards the form of the characters and their interpretation, from the T'ang dynasty down to the present day. The most reasonable interpretation of what Chao Lin had in mind, put forward by Sir Percival David, is that the term refers to a type of lacquer which reveals bands of different color when carved.⁴ This description would apply closely to the lacquer on the armor from Fort Miran. It is difficult to avoid the view that if Chinese connoisseurs had been aware of this armor the arguments on the identification of the term *hsi-p'i* need never have arisen.

From the ninth century to the fourteenth century, some 500 years, there is no positive evidence of the further manufacture of carved lacquer in China. There are references to T'ang and Sung carved lacquer in various works, but only one of these is earlier than the sixteenth century. The one

reference, in the 1388 edition of the *Ko-ku yao-lun* 校古要論, is so obscure that sinologists have been unable to agree on its meaning. The view formerly accepted that the reference is to pieces made with gold or silver bodies can now be discounted.⁵

There is now a good deal of evidence from recent excavations in China on Sung lacquer, which was made extensively in Central China, in the provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu and Hupeh.⁶ More than 100 vessels, including 18 with inscriptions that bear the place of manufacture, have been excavated. They are all simple and undecorated, although of high quality, in shapes that are closely associated with those of the Sung porcelains. The absence of carved lacquer among the excavated material suggests that it was either not being made at this time or that it occupied a subsidiary position. In any case, we can discount the flowery descriptions by sixteenth-century Chinese writers who refer to the superior skill of the Sung lacquerers in carving landscapes, birds and flowers as compared with that of the lacquerers of the Yüan and Ming dynasties.⁷

It is not until the fourteenth century that there is any really solid ground. Here we can turn to the first edition of the *Ko-ku yao-lun*, published in 1388,⁸ whose account not only carries conviction, with its references to specific lacquerers, but can also be checked by reliable literary information from near-contemporary sources. Although some of this is Chinese in origin, all the

³ The passage is repeated by T'ao Tsung-i 陶宗儀 in his *Nan-ts'un cho-keng lu* 南村輟耕錄 (Edition *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊), *chüan* 11. The translation is given by Sir Percival David, ed. and trans., *Chinese Connoisseurship. The Ko-ku yao-lun. The Essential Criteria of Antiquities* (London, 1971), pp. 144-146.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146 (*Ko-ku yao-lun*, p. 303 [42a]).

⁶ Hin-cheung Lovell, "Sung and Yüan Monochrome Lacquers in the Freer Gallery," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 9 (1973).

⁷ Such as Kao Lien 高濂, *Tsun-sheng pa-chien* 遵生八牋 (1591).

⁸ Ref. note 3.

information has come from records preserved in Japan.

The first piece of evidence comes from the *Butsunichian kōmotsu mokuroku* 佛日庵公物目錄, an early catalogue of the more important works of art in the possession of the Hōjō 北條 regents of Kamakura. This was compiled in 1363 by a priest in the Butsu-nichi-an 佛日庵, a sub-temple of the Engaku-ji 圓覺寺 Temple in Kamakura, where the document is still preserved. Among the pieces in the catalogue are a number of vessels in red and black lacquer in different shapes, including trays, bowls, incense-boxes and tiered food-boxes.⁹ The catalogue provides convincing evidence that there was a substantial manufacture of carved lacquer in China before the end of the Yüan dynasty. Another list of lacquer vessels, deposited in 1474 as a collateral for a loan and reclaimed in 1485, is also recorded.¹⁰

The second source of information comes from lists of objects presented by the Chinese emperors to the Japanese Shoguns, first published by T. Makita.¹¹ The lists, preserved in Myōchi-in 妙智院, a sub-temple of Tenryū-ji 天龍寺 in Saga, are copied from Chinese edicts dated 1403, 1406, 1407, 1433 and 1434.¹² Fortunately we can check the 1407 list against the original document, which is in the Reimei-kai Museum in

Nagoya.¹³ The agreement, except for one small detail, is perfect. This gives confidence that the other lists are generally accurate. The most important of the lists is that for 1403, which describes 58 carved lacquer objects with full details of the decoration. Many of the descriptions agree closely with familiar pieces that have already been attributed on stylistic and other grounds to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The final piece of evidence for early Chinese carved lacquer comes from a small red lacquer box excavated recently from a tomb in Kiangsu province whose date is not later than 1351.¹⁴ The box, decorated with a landscape on the top and key-fret borders on the sides, is of a type familiar to all students of Chinese lacquer, for it was made over a long period throughout the Ming dynasty.

The evidence summarized here, consisting of the Japanese catalogue of 1363, the lists of pieces sent to Japan in the first half of the fifteenth century and particularly that of 1403, the descriptions in the *Kō-ku yao-lun* of 1388 and the excavated box made before 1351 is all that is positively known about carved lacquer of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from contemporary accounts. The evidence from these sources is consistent and from a study of it and particularly of the 1403 list, certain types of fourteenth-century lacquer have been identified with some certainty.¹⁵ The present paper is concerned with fifteenth-

⁹ John Figgess, "Ming and Pre-Ming Lacquer in the Japanese Tea Ceremony," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 37 (1967-69), pp. 37-51.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ T. Makita, *Sakugen nyūmin-ki no kenkyū* 策彦入明記の研究 (A Study of Sakugen's visit to Ming China) (Kyoto, 1955-59).

¹² The lists, and particularly that for 1403, are discussed at length in the author's paper, "The Export of Chinese Lacquer to Japan in the Yüan and Early Ming Dynasties," *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 25 (1972), pp. 6-28.

¹³ John Figgess, "A Letter from the Court of Yung-lo," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 34 (1962-63), pp. 97-101.

¹⁴ Tsung-tien 宗典, "Yüan Jen Jen-fa mu-chih fa-hsien 元任仁發墓誌發現," *Wen wu* (1959), no. 11, pp. 25-26. *Chiang-su-sheng ch'u-t'u wen-wu hsüan-chi* 江蘇省出土文物選集, (Peking, 1963), pl. 205.

¹⁵ Makita, *Sakugen*.

century lacquer, and we shall find that we can identify pieces in the list which agree closely with a number of pieces that have for a long time been attributed to what has often been termed the "imperial" group of fifteenth-century carved lacquer. The term is not really appropriate for a group that extends far beyond lacquer made specifically for the emperor; but a label for this well-defined group is needed, and the term "official" is preferable, although not entirely satisfactory. This group would include the lacquers sent as gifts to Japan.

After the lists of lacquer objects sent to Japan which ended, as far as carved lacquer is concerned, in 1407, no references to carved lacquer are known until we come to the second half of the sixteenth century. Although the literature of the sixteenth century does not inspire much confidence, there is evidence that lacquer attributed to the fifteenth century and bearing the marks of Yung-lo 永樂 and Hsüan-te 宣德 were highly prized in imperial circles. A large number of vessels of carved red lacquer were stored in the palace and used for the serving of food and other purposes. In the Ch'ing dynasty no less than 36 pieces, 24 attributed to Yung-lo and 12 to Hsüan-te, as well as many later pieces, were recorded in the Emperor Ch'ien-lung's poems.¹⁶ Today, there are still a few pieces in the Chinese National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

The characteristics of this group of lacquer seem always to have been well-understood by Chinese connoisseurs. Four pieces correctly ascribed to the fifteenth century were exhibited in the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London in 1935-36.

¹⁶ Hsü Shih-chang 徐世章, *Hao-yüan pi-chi* 濠園筆記 (Jottings of Hao-yüan).

But it was not until Low-Beer studied them in detail later that the characteristics of the group were closely specified.¹⁷ It is to this group that the earlier of the two boxes in the Freer Gallery belongs (*figs. 1 and 2*).

Low-Beer has clearly summed up the excellent stylistic qualities of the official fifteenth-century lacquers and the superb craftsmanship in the execution of the designs. These would not have been possible without the provision of a basic material ideally suited to the carver, and the pieces would not have survived if meticulous attention had not been given to the construction. We know a good deal about these points from the study of a damaged box, complete except for the top, which had been removed leaving only the sides of the upper section and the whole of the bottom available for scientific investigation.¹⁸ The missing top could have been carved with a landscape, like the Freer box, or with a floral design. The sides are decorated similarly to those of the Freer box. By cutting sections and examining them under the microscope the construction of the box was revealed. The wooden base was first covered with a thick layer of a black lacquer composition in which was embedded a layer of fabric and then covered by seven layers of yellow followed by more than one hundred layers of red. The red lacquer was interrupted by a thin band of four layers of black lacquer situated about one quarter of the way up. This band, which is seen as a thin line in section, is thought to have been used by the

¹⁷ Fritz Low-Beer, "Chinese Lacquer of the Early Fifteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 22 (1950), pp. 145-167.

¹⁸ Harry M. Garner, "Technical Studies of Oriental Lacquer," *Studies in Conservation*, vol. 8, no. 3 (August, 1963), pp. 84-97.

carver to indicate the depth of carving and is often called the "guide line." It is a great technical achievement to have applied well over one hundred layers of lacquer in a total thickness of about 3 mm. The process of manufacture, as I have already pointed out, must have taken a long time, for it was necessary for each layer to set sufficiently hard to take a polish before the next layer was applied. At least a year must have been necessary, and two to three years is a more realistic estimate. The complex construction of the lacquer, unobtrusive and unrecognised by the casual observer, is a necessary preliminary for the next stage, the carving of the designs.

The carving of the Freer box, even by fifteenth-century standards, is of exceptional quality. Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the diaper backgrounds. The conventions for land, water and air, found in every piece in the landscape group, are followed here, with the air and water diapers at the lowest level and the land diaper a little higher. Enlargements of these are shown in *figures 5b, 6a and 6b*. The precision carving of the eight-pointed stars in the land diaper, set in squares only 4 mm. across, is remarkable. But the intricacy of the diaper backgrounds does not obtrude; and the theme, an audience scene in front of a lofty pavilion itself overshadowed by a splendid gnarled pine tree, stands out clearly, a splendidly conceived subject.

The depth of carving of the low-level air and water diapers is left just above the yellow lacquer, which is needed as the plain background for the floral borders on the edges. These are the flowers of the four seasons represented by camellia (winter), tree peony (spring), pomegranate (sum-

mer) and chrysanthemum (autumn) (*figs. 4a-4c and 5a*). The designs on the top and bottom sections match, as they do in all these boxes, unless by some mischance the original sections have become separated, a not uncommon occurrence found not only in lacquer; examples can also be found in porcelain and cloisonné enamel boxes.

The Freer box, like many other boxes in the group, bears the six-character mark of Yung-lo on the left-hand side of the base (*fig. 6c*). A full discussion of the marks of Yung-lo and Hsüan-te which appear on these boxes is too involved to be treated thoroughly here but a few of the conclusions reached from a study of more than 50 pieces with such marks are worth recording. The Yung-lo marks, which are far more numerous than those of Hsüan-te, are scratched in with a needle, while the Hsüan-te marks are carved with a knife and filled in with gold. It is extremely unlikely that any Yung-lo mark is contemporary with the piece, and the mark on the Freer box is no exception. The calligraphy is poor, and the strokes of the mark show a chattering where the needle has broken away the lacquer on the edges, an indication that the mark was made many years after the lacquer had set. A feature of genuine marks, and we can find plenty of these in the Chia-ching 嘉靖 and Wan-li 萬曆 periods, is that the edges of the carving are smooth, showing that the lacquer had not set really hard when the mark was written. The Hsüan-te marks are generally more convincing, and some of these perhaps have claims to be contemporary with the piece. A few pieces are known bearing the marks of both Yung-lo and Hsüan-te, and indeed the box used for the scientific investigations bears a Hsüan-te mark superimposed on a

Yung-lo mark (*fig. 6d*). The reason for this curious arrangement is obscure, and many fanciful stories have been invented to account for it. The most likely explanation is that the marks were made as attributions to pieces in the palace collections when inventories were being made. A change in attribution would account for two marks on the same piece. The fact that on a few pieces the marks of Yung-lo and Hsüan-te are on different parts of a vessel, both clearly visible, seems to rule out any attempt at deception.

Let us now return to the evidence that has been revealed in recent years and see how this throws light on the dating and provenance of the official wares. None of the evidence conflicts with the view that the official group of carved lacquer belongs generally to the fifteenth century. But a study of the 1403 list brings forward an unexpected point that some of the pieces in the official group may have been made before 1403 and even in the late fourteenth century.

There are no large boxes in the 1403 list, but there is a small box similar to the Yüan excavated box datable to *circa* 1351.¹⁹ The comparison with known pieces is therefore best based on the dishes. There are fourteen in the list, four of which are decorated with figures in landscapes surrounded by borders of the flowers of the four seasons. Three of these are matched by similar borders below, the exception being decorated with a spiral scroll, a feature which is associated with fourteenth-century rather than fifteenth-century lacquer. A comparison of

the known landscape dishes with the three on the list with floral borders throughout shows that the dishes belonging to the official group agree closely with the descriptions in the list. Thus we cannot rule out the possibility of landscape dishes in the official group having been made before 1403. The landscape boxes, with a similar association of landscapes and floral borders, may also have been made before 1403. The identification of such dishes and boxes, if they exist, cannot be attempted at present.

The landscape boxes show not only an exceptional standard of craftsmanship but also strong evidence of a close control of the design and structural features. The designs must have been based on patterns issued to the craftsmen. This question has been fully discussed elsewhere, particularly in relation to the diapers.²⁰ There is evidence of patterns being used in details of landscapes, sometimes even of large sections of it. A comparison of the landscape on the Freer box with that of the Low-Beer dish illustrated in *figure 3* shows details which must have been made from the same patterns. The pine tree, pavilions and the distribution of the figures clearly come from a common source, although the craftsman has taken the liberty of adding a figure here and there. The matching borders on the tops and bottoms of boxes has already been mentioned. The choice of camellia, peony, pomegranate and chrysanthemum for the flowers of the four seasons never changes; although when the number of flowers is more than four, alternate flowers for the different seasons are added.

¹⁹ In the list there is a mirror case decorated with a landscape and floral borders, with diameter 7.7 inches and height 1.1 feet. From these dimensions this could be a tiered box.

²⁰ Harry M. Garner, "Diaper Backgrounds on Chinese Carved Lacquer," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 6 (1966), pp. 165-189.

The close control of the methods of construction and design of fifteenth-century lacquer was exercised by the *Yü-yung-chien* 御用監 (literally "made under supervision for the emperor"), a department of the *Nei-fu* 內府, the imperial household, which was set up in 1367 for the supply, inspection and maintenance of objects made for the court. Such objects were not necessarily made in factories working exclusively for the court, which could properly be called "imperial" factories; and it is likely that lacquer was made in factories engaged on work for the court only for a part of the time.

The workmen in China at this time were bound by a feudal system similar to that in Europe, by which they were compelled to work part-time for the state or a feudal overlord, after which they could work for themselves. Thus there were a number of factories providing lacquer objects under forced labor for the court and engaged on other work when the demand from the court was slack. This explains why the term "imperial" is unjustified, and even the term "official" is not entirely appropriate. Some of the pieces would not have been made under such close supervision as that exercised by the *Yü-yung-chien*, and the standards of craftsmanship could not have been as high as they were for the court wares.

At the time that the 1403 list was prepared the main center of lacquer manufacture was in Central China in the same general area as that in which the Sung lacquers were produced, and particularly in the provinces of Chekiang and Kiangsu. There are a number of references, in the *Ko-ku yao-lun* and other works, to pieces made at Hsi-t'ang 西塘 in the prefecture of

Chia-hsing 嘉興, about 60 miles from Hangchou and there is a group of sutra boxes of *ch'iang-chin* 鎗金 lacquer, with incised designs filled in with gold, made at Hangchou in the early fourteenth century, some of which bear the date 1315.²¹

There are a number of references in Ming works of the second half of the sixteenth century to the setting up of an imperial factory, known as the Kuo-yüan 果園 factory, for the manufacture of lacquer when the court moved from Nanking to Peking in 1421. The existence of such a factory has been accepted by modern writers, both in China and the West. There is no evidence of any kind, however, to support the view that any lacquer was made in Peking during the reigns of Yung-lo or Hsüan-te.

Yung-lo decided early in his reign to move his court from Nanking to Peking, but progress in effecting the move was slow because of the difficulty of getting the various supplies needed. The first reference known is for 1405, when orders were given to collect lumber and other materials from the provinces. At the beginning of 1407 Wu Chung 吳中 was named Minister of Works. He served for 20 years in this capacity, but work was not continuous because of shortage of materials. Much work was needed on the Grand Canal. By 1421 the residences of the princes' palaces and altars were ready, and Peking was designated the capital on New Year's Day (February 2nd). The second stage of building, including the construction of walls, moat, temples and government offices and the repair of the nine gates and towers, was

²¹ John Figgess, "A Group of Decorated Lacquer Caskets of the Yüan Dynasty," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 36 (1964-66), pp. 39-42.

completed in 1439. A search through the palace records for the period up to 1439 has revealed no reference to any lacquer factory.²²

We can thus be certain that there was no imperial factory in Peking during the reigns of Yung-lo and Hsüan-te, and it is likely that the greater part, if not all, of the "official" lacquer of these periods was made not far from the lower reaches of the Yangtse River. A thorough study of the records after 1439 has not been made, but it is unlikely that there was ever a factory in Peking producing in any large quantity lacquer objects from the raw material. There is no evidence that the lacquer tree ever grew in the cold, dry climate of Peking, and lacquer would always best be made in the regions where the lacquer tree flourished.

Thus the Freer box belongs to a group of lacquers made for the court in one of the factories of Central China, probably in the province of Chekiang or the adjoining districts of Kiangsu. It is an exceptionally fine example of landscape carving; and although the mark of Yung-lo is of no value, except perhaps as expressing the opinion of a court official at a much later date, the box can be attributed with some confidence to the Yung-lo period.

We do not know when the carved lacquers of the official fifteenth-century group ceased to be made, although it seems likely that the manufacture continued some time after the end of the reign of Hsüan-te. The gap between the middle of the fifteenth

century and the accession to the throne of Chia-ching in 1522 is one in which there are no recorded references to lacquer and no examples of pieces for which there is any positive evidence of dating, except for a small group of pieces, one of which bears the date corresponding to 1489. The second box in the Freer Gallery of Art to be discussed here belongs to this group (*figs. 7 and 8*).

The dated piece is a dish belonging to Mrs. John D. Riddell, formerly Lady David, and it was for many years a treasured possession of Sir Percival David. It was exhibited by him in the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in 1935-36. The dish is illustrated in *figure 9* and an enlargement of the mark in *figure 12a*. While the craftsmanship of this dish and the Freer box is of a very high standard, in some respects reaching that of the earlier Freer box, there are many structural and stylistic differences between what may be called, for convenience, the "Hung-chih group" and the official fifteenth-century group.

The first innovation of the Hung-chih group is the replacement of the monochrome red decoration of the official group by polychrome decoration. Although the earlier lacquer wares were carved, in the floral patterns, down to the yellow ground, this plays little part in the decoration except to provide an unobtrusive setting for the brocade-like designs. In the new pieces, and this is particularly marked in the Freer box, the decoration stands out in black against the red diaper grounds, placed just above the yellow base so that the carving penetrates to it, thus giving the diapers an orange-red appearance. The carving is more shallow than in the official group, and the whole effect is to make the decora-

²² I am greatly indebted for this valuable evidence to Dr. Carrington Goodrich, the Editor of the Ming Biographical History Project, Columbia University. It has been compiled from biographies submitted to the Project.



FIG. 1.—Landscape box, early fifteenth century. General view. Diameter 26.6 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64.



FIG. 2.—Landscape box, early fifteenth century. Front view. Diameter 26.6 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64.



FIG. 3.—Landscape dish, early fifteenth century. Diameter 34.8 cm.
Mr. and Mrs. F. Low-Beer Collection.



FIG. 4a.—Landscape box, early fifteenth century. Borders, showing camellias.
Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64.



FIG. 4b.—Landscape box, early fifteenth century. Borders, showing tree peonies.
Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64.



FIG. 4c.—Landscape box, early fifteenth century. Borders, showing pomegranates.
Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64.



FIG. 5a.—Landscape box, early fifteenth century. Borders, showing chrysanthemums.
Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64.



FIG. 5b.—Landscape box, early fifteenth century. Detail of land diaper.
Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64.

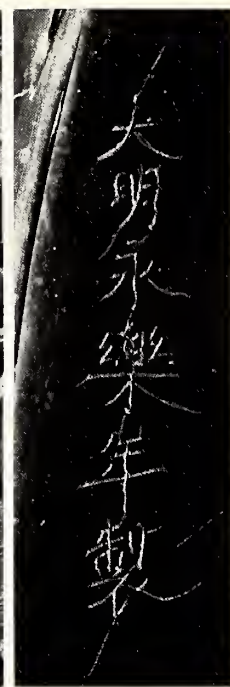


FIG. 6a and c.—Landscape box, early fifteenth century. Detail of water diaper.
Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64. (Right.) Yung-lo mark on box.

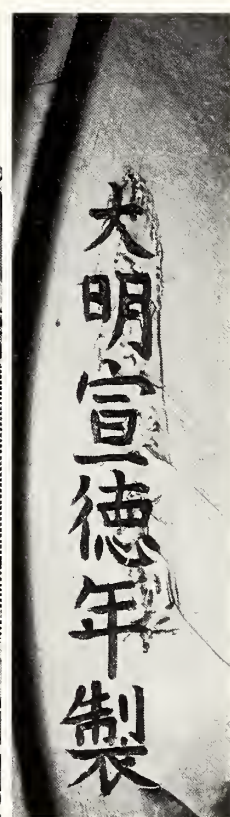


FIG. 6b and d.—Landscape box, early fifteenth century. Detail of air diaper.
Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64. (Right.) Hsüan-te mark superimposed over Yung-lo mark.
From an early fifteenth-century box in the author's collection.



FIG. 7.—Landscape box, late fifteenth century. General view. Diameter 31.8 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, 68.76.



FIG. 8.—Landscape box, late fifteenth century. Front view. Diameter 31.8 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, 68.76.



FIG. 9.—Dish, dated 1489. Diameter 13.8 cm.
Mrs. John D. Riddell Collection.



FIG. 10a.—Pomegranate flowers from early fifteenth-century box. Freer Gallery of Art, 53.64.



FIG. 10b.—Lotus flowers from late fifteenth-century box. Freer Gallery of Art, 68.76.



FIG. 11a.—Panel with football players, from late fifteenth-century box.
Freer Gallery of Art, 68.76.



FIG. 11b.—Panel with official, peasant and buffalo, from late fifteenth-century box.
Freer Gallery of Art, 68.76.



FIG. 12a.—Detail showing mark of dish in the Mrs. John D. Riddell Collection.



FIG. 12b.—Detail showing mark on the late fifteenth-century box.
Freer Gallery of Art, 68.76.

tion less three-dimensional and more pictorial.

The second change is in the carving. To a large extent the carving of the lacquer in the official group is done with a single-edged knife, and long and narrow incisions, such as the veins of the leaves and flowers, are made with two strokes of the knife. Only for very fine and shallow decoration is a single stroke of a needle used. The greater use of the needle and the introduction of small chisels with rounded, square and even pointed cutting edges clearly reduced the amount of labor needed; and, as time went on, there was a greater tendency to use them until we find, in the official Chia-ching and Wan-li lacquers, that these tools were used almost exclusively.²³ The Hung-chih group shows a marked increase in the use of these tools without going so far as in the Chia-ching pieces. A comparison of the enlargement of lotus flowers on the Freer box, in which each vein is carved in a single stroke (*fig. 10b*), with that of a pomegranate flower in the earlier Freer box belonging to the official group, in which each vein is carved in two knife strokes (*fig. 10a*), shows the difference in the two techniques. The Hung-chih group shows a slight lack of crispness in the carving as compared with the earlier lacquers.

At the same time there is a freedom in the treatment of the decoration of the Hung-chih group which is very attractive. The rounded sides of the Freer box are decorated with panels of landscapes with figures engaged in various pursuits in place of the formal floral borders of the earlier wares. Two of the panels, one from the

upper and the other from the lower part of the box, are illustrated in *figures 11a* and *11b*. The former shows a group of three men playing football in front of seven spectators and the latter an official, accompanied by two attendants, apparently inspecting a peasant and his buffalo.²⁴ The diapers in the Freer box, like the other pieces in the group, are not made to precise patterns, and the air diaper in particular is crudely constructed when compared with the precise 4:3 diaper of the earlier Freer box (compare *figs. 6a* with *11a*).

The importance of the Hung-chih group in providing the only known link between the lacquers of the early fifteenth century and those of the mid-sixteenth is evident, and the dating of the group therefore requires special scrutiny. In *figures 12a* and *12b* the marks of the dated dish and the Freer box are shown enlarged to the same scale. On the dish (*fig. 12a*) the inscription *Hung-chih erh nien* 弘治二年 (the second year of Hung-chih, corresponding to 1489) is seen on the horizontal beam at the right and the inscriptions *P'ing-liang* 平涼 and *Wang Ming tiao* 王銘刁 on the right and left hand pillars respectively. The left hand inscription reads "carved by Wang Ming," and *P'ing-liang* is the name of a city in the province of Kansu. This is interpreted as being the birthplace of Wang Ming. There is a single inscription on the Freer box (*fig. 12b*) which reads *P'ing-liang Wang Ming tiao* ("carved by Wang Ming of *P'ing-liang*").

It is important on any piece of lacquer

²³ A detailed list of a variety of carving knives is given in *Hsiu shih lu* 髹飾錄 (1959 edition), section 24.

²⁴ Illustrations of all the panels and descriptions of them are given in a paper by Jean-Pierre Dubosc, "A Rare Example of Late Fifteenth-Century Carved Lacquer in an English Private Collection," *The Connoisseur* (June, 1966), pp. 78-81.

with an inscription to establish whether the inscription is contemporary with the piece or not. Fortunately in these two pieces the evidence is clear. The mark on the dish is seen to have been carved by the same technique as the spiral scroll borders above and below. The carving was clearly done by a single stroke of the tool; and the edges are smooth, showing that the carving was done when the lacquer was comparatively soft. The mark on the Freer box, although not quite so clean on the edges as that on the dish, is nevertheless also consistent with the borders above and to the right of the pillar containing the inscription.

The conclusion must therefore be reached that the pieces were made round about the beginning of the reign of Hung-chih. The technical features are consistent with a date between that of the early fifteenth-century group and the official wares of the Chia-ching period. There are however a number of unusual features not found in any of the official wares, and this supports the view that each piece was made by an artist craftsman unconstrained by any official regulations. Two other pieces closely associated in style with these two inscribed pieces suggest that an atelier with a number of craftsmen rather than a single artist worked as a group in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁵ The survival of four pieces surely suggests a fairly extensive manufacture.

²⁵ One of these, in the Low-Beer Collection, is illustrated in "Chinese Lacquer of the Middle and Late Ming Period," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 24 (1952), pl. 40; the other, in the author's collection, is illustrated in *Oriental Ceramic Society, Arts of the Ming Dynasty* (1957), p. 67.

Has the supposed birthplace of Wang Ming in the province of Kansu any significance? The manufacture of lacquer over almost the whole of China except the extreme north is known to have taken place at one time or another, including Kansu, where almost certainly the lacquered armor from Fort Miran was made in the eighth century. But there is no evidence that lacquer of any account was made in Kansu in the Ming dynasty. The great center of manufacture then was, as I have said, in the lower reaches of the Yangtse; and the only other center of manufacture recorded in Chinese literature was in Yünnan, where a type of rather roughly carved lacquer was made. The accomplished lacquers of the Hung-chih group could only have been made where there was a well-established lacquer industry with highly skilled craftsmen, and it is almost certain that they were made in the lower reaches of the Yangtse, probably in Chekiang.

Although the Hung-chih group provides a connecting point between the official fifteenth century and the Chia-ching lacquers, there is still a mystery as to what official lacquers were made in the interim period. One possible explanation of the apparent gap is that the official fifteenth-century wares were made over a much longer period than has been hitherto accepted. They may even overlap the unofficial Hung-chih group and extend to the end of the fifteenth century. The absence of marked pieces or other evidence to date them to the second half of the fifteenth century is at present a formidable stumbling block in the study of Chinese lacquer.

FAN PAINTINGS ATTRIBUTED TO SŌTATSU: THEIR THEMES AND PROTOTYPES

By MIYEKO MURASE*

IN SPITE OF HIS GREAT FAME AND POPULARITY, or perhaps because of it, the artistic personality of Sōtatsu is shrouded in mystery. One of the most perplexing problems still awaiting an answer concerns the chronological development of his figure paintings. Among the works accepted as Sōtatsu's authentic oeuvre his figure paintings are perhaps more numerous than his purely decorative designs. Nevertheless, we know little about his early training in this genre. Our knowledge of Sōtatsu's art depends almost exclusively on paintings datable in the early seventeenth century, and these are decorative designs, depicting flowers and trees and occasionally birds and animals.

The subjects of a set of narrative scenes shown on small fans pasted on the six-fold screen in the Freer Gallery of Art may offer the key to some of the mysteries surrounding Sōtatsu. Attribution of these fans to any particular artist or artists will be possible only when a group of paintings has been accepted universally as standard works of Sōtatsu. That possibility has not yet come and may never come. The following discussion, therefore, will focus on the narrative themes depicted on these fans, for they do reveal an unusual aspect of Sōtatsu's *modus operandi* in figure compositions.

For our purpose, it will be of help to first formulate a fairly clear idea of Sōtatsu as a man. However, only a very sketchy outline of his life can be reconstructed at

the present time. Little documentary material concerning Sōtatsu is known today, and all of it is discussed fully by Yamane in his book, *Sōtatsu*,¹ and some is also to be found in Elise Grilli's posthumous work, *The Art of the Japanese Screen*.² Consequently, I have merely summarized some of this material for the sake of composing a frame of reference for the problems which are to be discussed here.

The time and place of Sōtatsu's birth are still unknown. Even the surname of the family into which he was born is not certain. The surnames of Nonomura (野々村) and Tawaraya (俵屋) are often affixed to Sōtatsu's given name in literature, but "Tawaraya" is the trade name of a shop, as indicated by the last character *ya*, meaning shop. Sometimes both surnames are affixed to his given name. For example, Kurokawa Dōyū, in his book of 1682, *Yōshū-fu Shi*, referred to a Tawaraya-Nonomura, evidently a man of the Nonomura family, who ran a painting shop called Tawaraya.³

The earliest reference to Sōtatsu is found in a letter written by Sen-no Shōan (千少庵) on May 18 of an unspecified year.⁴

¹ Yamane Yūzō (山根有三), *Sōtatsu* (宗達) (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 238-250.

² Elise Grilli, *The Art of the Japanese Screen* (New York and Tokyo, 1970), app. 5, p. 263. Unfortunately, this otherwise useful material in English language contains many errors. Corrections will be given in the following notes.

³ Kurokawa Dōyū (黒川道裕), *Yōshū-fu Shi* (雍州府志), reprint in *Shinshū Kyoto Sōsho* (新修京都叢書), ed. Shinshū Kyoto Sōsho Kankō-Kai (新修京都叢書刊行會) (Kyoto, 1968), vol. 10, p. 553.

⁴ Grilli, *Japanese Screen*, p. 263; Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, pp. 243-244.

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In this letter, addressed to Iseki Taemochi (井關妙持), a wealthy Nishijin textile merchant, Shōan states that Tawaraya Sōtatsu is giving a tea party on the 21st day, and Shōan would like to accompany Taemochi. Unfortunately, the exact date of the letter is uncertain and could have been written at any time before 1614, the year of Shōan's death. This letter offers us various important facts about Sōtatsu: first, he was known as Tawaraya Sōtatsu before 1614; secondly, as both Shōan and Taemochi belonged to the cultural elite class of citizens in Kyoto, Sōtatsu, himself, must have been a quite wealthy and cultivated gentleman, as he was able to entertain Shōan and Taemochi and must have enjoyed the friendship of other distinguished citizens of Kyoto.

The letter by Shōan naturally does not indicate how Sōtatsu made his wealth and became famous. However, an entry in a diary, written soon after Shōan's death, includes the first documented reference to Sōtatsu's work in painting. In the entry for 13 March, 1616, a court noble, Nakanoin Michimura, mentions a "Tawaraya picture" depicting two or three red-maple leaves scattered around a deer.⁵ Although the reference is too brief to allow us to reconstruct the painting by Tawaraya, it is at least clear that this "Tawaraya picture" was rather small. It depicted only a deer and two or three maple leaves, probably in a quite simple yet decorative style. We may gather from this communication also that the shop named Tawaraya was

fairly well-known by this date, as the phrase "Tawaraya picture" sufficed as a reference to its nature and creator.

Shortly after 1616, Isoda Michiharu, the author of a novel titled *Chikusai*, written between 1621 and 1623, made a more specific reference to Tawaraya.⁶ The novel described an imaginary visit of a country doctor called Chikusai as a tourist in Kyoto and Edo. Chikusai in the novel refers to a man who had a "Tawaraya fan," which showed a scene from the Yūgao chapter of the *Tale of Genji*, and he states that it was painted with "abundant colors."⁷ Here, we learn the important fact that Tawaraya painted and sold fans. A much later essayist, Shimae Masamichi, also refers to Sōtatsu, in his *Isetsu Machi-machi* of 1748, as a "painter of fans [working] at Micidō."⁸

More substantial information about Sōtatsu is found in the colophon written at the end of the fourth scroll of the *Saigyō Hōshi Gyōjō Ekotoba* (西行法師行狀繪詞) in the Morikawa collection (formerly in the Mōri collection). It is the most direct reference to the

⁶ Isoda Michiharu (磯田道治), *Chikusai* (竹齋), reprint in *Kana-zōshi Shū* (假名草子集), *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (日本古典文學大系), ed. Maeda Kingorō (前田金五郎) and Morita Takeshi (森田武) (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 91–159. Grilli (*Japanese Screen*, p. 263) still adheres to the old attribution of this book to Karasumaru Mitsuhiro. This attribution is also repeated by Edward Putzar in his *Chikusai, Monumenta Nipponica*, (Tokyo, 1960–61) vol. 16, nos. 1–2, p. 161. However, Japanese scholars in recent years have all discredited the attribution of this book to Mitsuhiro.

⁷ Putzar, *Chikusai*, p. 176. He gives an inaccurate translation of this passage as follows: "His face from the Tawara Shop in Miyako, and writing instruments were exhausted inscribing [upon it] the 'Yūgao' chapter of Genji."

⁸ Shimae Masamichi (島江正路), *Isetsu Machi-machi* (異説まちまち), reprint in *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei* (日本隨筆大成), vol. 9, ed. Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Henshū-bu (日本隨筆大成編輯部) (Tokyo, 1927), pp. 92–93.

⁵ In the *Nakanoin Michimura Nikki* (中院通村日記). See: Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, pp. 245–246: Grilli (*Japanese Screen*) gives an incorrect reading of the nobleman's name as "Michimura Chūin."

painter,⁹ and was written by the famous court noble calligrapher, Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579–1638) (烏凡光廣), who also wrote the text of the scrolls. Mitsuhiro states that the Saigyô scrolls were copied at the request of Honda Tomimasa (本多富正), the Lord of Izu. A set of scrolls in the Imperial collection was used for the copy work, the paintings copied by Hokkyô Sôtatsu (法橋宗達) and the text written by Mitsuhiro himself. The colophon includes a date of early September of the seventh year of the Kan'ei era (1630). The model used by Sôtatsu and Mitsuhiro was a very popular version of the Saigyô scrolls, but it was not the version made in the Kamakura period, as is sometimes proposed. The model was a much later version, and it was probably painted ca. 1500 by Kaida Uneme (海田采女), who is otherwise unknown.¹⁰

Mitsuhiro's brief statement contains also another valuable item, which is the only clue to Sôtatsu's age. Sôtatsu is mentioned in this colophon as holder of the title *Hokkyô*, the highest priestly rank accorded an artist. This means that Sôtatsu received this honorific title before 1630, so he was then already an accomplished painter of advanced age. Since the title *Hokkyô* is usually granted to a man in the last phase of his career and judging from other instances of this kind, it is likely that Sôtatsu was then in his late 50s or 60s. No documentary material explains the reason for this honor or the exact date when it was awarded to Sôtatsu. A suggestion has been

made, and accepted by most scholars, that Sôtatsu was given this honor in 1621 when he successfully completed a commission to paint doors and screens for Yôgen-in (養源院) in Kyoto.¹¹ Granting that he was honored in 1621 and was then in his early 60s, we may assume that Sôtatsu was born in the late 1550s.

One more document throws light on Sôtatsu's relationship with noblemen at the court in 1630. In that year, a high-ranking nobleman, Ichijô Kanetô (1605–72) (一條兼遇), the younger brother of Emperor Gomizuno-o (1596–1680) (後水尾天皇), wrote to Osen-maru (おせん丸), an attendant of the Emperor.¹² Kanetô informed the Emperor that underdrawings for three pairs of screens by Sôtatsu were ready for His Majesty's inspection and that, according to Sôtatsu's own words, he had already pasted gold leaf on the screen showing *yôbai* (楊梅) trees.¹³ Gomizuno-o answered his brother soon afterwards, noting that the screens in question had already been delivered to the court library and awaited his inspection.

There is no record of Sôtatsu's death. In a document dated 1639, owned by Yôjuji (養壽寺) in Sakai, Sôsetsu (宗雪), who is generally regarded as Sôtatsu's successor, is mentioned as Tawaraya Sôsetsu.¹⁴ On the other hand, the abbot of Kinkakuji referred, in his diary of 1642, to the same

¹¹ Yamane, *Sôtatsu*, p. 249.

¹² Mori Tôru (森暢), "Sôtatsu no Ichi Shiryô (宗達の一資料)" (A Document Concerning a Now Lost Painting by Sôtatsu), *Yamato Bunka*, 1 (January, 1951), pp. 46–49. Grilli (*Japanese Screen*, p. 263) gives an incorrect reading of the nobleman's name as "Kaneyoshi."

¹³ Grilli (*Ibid*, p. 263) identified the subject of this screen "yôbai" as "willows and plums." Yôbai, commonly known in Japan as *yama-momo*, is a fruit bearing tree. See Mori, "Ichi Shiryô."

¹⁴ Yamane, *Sôtatsu*, p. 249.

⁹ The entire colophon is reproduced by Yamane (*Sôtatsu*, p. 239). There is another set of the Saigyô scrolls in the Watanabe collection, but this set has no colophon.

¹⁰ For example, Grilli (*Japanese Screen*, p. 263) states that it was a Kamakura work by Keida (*sic*) Uneme.

Sōsetsu as Hokkyō Sōsetsu.¹⁵ This fact suggests that Sōsetsu became the leader of the Tawaraya shop sometime between 1639 and 1642; he inherited the title *Hokkyō* from Sōtatsu when the latter had passed away. Sōtatsu may have been an octogenarian when he died.

These documents suggest some dates which serve as key points in reconstructing Sōtatsu's life. A few other documents, such as Sōtatsu's own letter and a genealogical chart linking Sōtatsu to Kōetsu by marriage, are interesting, but they cannot be dated.¹⁶ What we know about Sōtatsu's career as a painter may be summed up as follows: Sōtatsu was born in the 1550s; by 1614, he was a successful and wealthy painter, running a shop called Tawaraya. Sometime before 1630, Sōtatsu was granted the title *Hokkyō*. He was also accepted in court circles and painted for Emperor Gomizuno-o. He, furthermore, collaborated with Karasumaru Mitsuhiro. His long and successful career came to a close between 1639 and 1642.

The signed and dated works of Sōtatsu may help us to establish a similar chronological framework for the evolution of his art. However, this is a more difficult task, since paintings which are firmly attributed to Sōtatsu are not dated, and those which are dated lack evidence for a firm attribution. In order to give some semblance of order to this discouraging situation, I submit hereafter a rough outline of the evolution of his art as it may be reconstructed

by some dated paintings which are accepted almost unanimously as his work. This evidence shall be kept to a minimum, for I must disregard works of disputed attributions.

The earliest among such dated paintings is a group of frontispieces and covers that replaced some earlier ones in the twelfth-century set of the *Lotus Sūtras* at the Itsukushima Shrine. No signature of Sōtatsu is found on these paintings, and there is no documentary evidence that connects them with Sōtatsu's name. However, these paintings, executed mainly in gold and silver and showing startling originality, are stylistically linked to some signed works of this master. In these small paintings, we detect a trace of elements leading to the art of Sōtatsu in its more mature form. The replacements were made in 1602 at the request of Fukushima Masanori (福島正則). Interestingly, Kōetsu is generally believed to be the designer of the box, which was then newly made as the container for these *sūtras*.¹⁷

A handscroll of poems decorated with floral designs in gold and silver was made in 1605. The poem, written on this scroll, was known as *Ryūtatsu-bushi* (隆達節), and it enjoyed enormous popularity at that time. Takasabu Ryūtatsu (d. 1611) (高三隆達), the composer of the poem, inscribed his own name and the date corresponding to 1605 at the end of the scroll. Sumikura Soan (角倉素庵) is believed to have written the poem on this scroll. Soan (1571–1632) was a wealthy, cultivated merchant calligrapher. In 1608, he undertook an ambitious project, the printing and publishing of classical Japanese literature. These

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 249; also in the entry for November 29, 1642 in the diary of Hōrin Shōshō (1593–1668) (鳳林承章). Akamatsu Toshihide (赤松俊秀) (ed.), *Kakumei Ki* (隔萱記) (Kyoto, 1958), vol. 1, p. 422.

¹⁶ These materials are discussed in detail by Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, pp. 241–250.

¹⁷ Hayashiya Tatsusaburō (林屋辰三郎), *et al.*, *Kōetsu* (光悦) (Tokyo, 1964), pl. 57; p. 135.

books came to be known by the collective name of *Saga-bon* (Saga Books) (嵯峨本), after the name of the suburb of Kyoto where they were published. The texts of these books were printed from the manuscript versions, made by Kōetsu and his followers. The designs on the Ryūtatsu-bushi scroll and the Saga Books were printed, not painted; and they are attributed to Sôtatsu. The traditional block-printing technique was not used for the printing of the designs in these works. Rather, the printer used small wooden blocks and applied them with amazing ingenuity. A limited number of stamps seems to have been made, and these were used repeatedly in different combinations, creating an infinite variety of compositions. The use of small stamps of designs in this manner resembles the movable type printing technique. Movable type was unknown in Japan until about 1600, when Hideyoshi brought it back from Korea. This event may have inspired Sôtatsu's friend Soan to undertake the Saga Books project,¹⁸ which in turn may have given Sôtatsu an idea for the unusual decoration of these handscrolls and books.

In 1606, Sôtatsu again seems to have designed decorations, this time for the books of *yōkyoku* (謡曲). Some texts in these books were written by Kōetsu; others were printed, using Kōetsu's calligraphy as models. Some designs on these books were printed; others were painted. The colors are limited to gold and silver; stylistically, they are closely linked to Sôtatsu's other pictures of flowers, plants and birds. One book from this group has an inscription, dated May

28, 11th year of the Keichō Era (1606).¹⁹ Later in the same year, on November 11th, Sôtatsu and Kōetsu again seem to have collaborated, making album-leaf pictures based on the imagery of poems. The poems were selected from the *Shin Kokin Wakashū* (新古今和歌集), an early thirteenth-century anthology of poems; some album leaves include dated inscriptions by Kōetsu and examples of his seals.²⁰ Another early seventeenth-century painting which can be attributed to Sôtatsu is dated January 10, 12th year of the Keichō Era (1607). It is a charming fan, with paintings of wisteria on one side and a row of pine trees on the other.²¹ The color palette of these paintings is limited to green, purple, silver and gold. The palette and the rhythmic arrangement of pine trees of this painting are linked to Sôtatsu's other pictures of similar subjects.

There is an unexplainable absence of dated paintings for more than twenty years between the publication of the Saga Books in 1608 and the project to copy the Saigyō scrolls in 1630. The only painting which can be dated in this period is the work at Yōgen-in, where Sôtatsu painted, in 1621, wonderfully fresh portraits of animals and pines on screens and wooden doors.

Sôtatsu's paintings prior to 1630 are restricted to the subjects of birds, animals, flowers and plants. Furthermore, this group of paintings contains most of the basic stylistic features characteristic of Sôtatsu's paintings, which include: (1) simple, yet strong and bold abstraction of pictorial motifs; (2) the use of a limited palette, relying primarily on gold and silver; and

¹⁸ Itō Takuji (伊東卓治), "Kōetsu Katsuga Shitae Kakan (光悦活畫下繪歌卷)," (The Poem Scrolls by Kōetsu with Katsuga Decoration), *The Bijutsu Kenkyū*, 204 (May, 1959), pp. 1-10.

¹⁹ Yamane, *Sôtatsu*, pp. 155-158, 223.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 215.

(3) the use of a stamping technique in works with printed designs. Only one important aspect of his art, found in most of his major paintings, has not made its appearance in this group of early works. It is the illustration of classical literature, using ancient Japanese paintings as his models. The majority of Sōtatsu's monumental paintings are narrative paintings, and these works reveal a startling degree of dependence on classical models. In fact, there is a strong possibility that all narrative paintings associated with his name are composed of pictorial elements transplanted from compositions in ancient paintings. Yet, we know almost nothing about the history of the development of Sōtatsu's figure paintings. The Saigyō scrolls of 1630 are the first and the only dated figure paintings by this artist, and there is an appalling paucity of literary materials concerning the evolution of this genre in Sōtatsu's career. Under such circumstances, it may be quite understandable that this particular aspect of his art has not been fully explored. A deeper appreciation of this problem may be possible only when we properly understand Sōtatsu as a man and have information about his friends and patrons, who gave him fresh ideas and opened doors to painting collections that he could study and copy. Among such persons, two names come to mind immediately, Hon'ami Kōetsu and Karasumaru Mitsuhiro.

The genealogical chart kept in the Kataoka family lists Sōtatsu as being married to a relative of Kōetsu.²² Many scholars agree that a close personal relationship and, more importantly, a successful collaboration must have existed between the

two artists. It is especially convenient to suggest that a close tie existed between them when one tries to identify Sōtatsu as the designer of poem scrolls who worked closely with Kōetsu. The designs consisting of animals, flowers, birds and plants are conceived in contrasts of gold and silver. Kōetsu wrote poems on these scrolls and, by using the rich, round and soft style of calligraphy well suited to these nature designs, a beautiful harmony was achieved. However, the identity of the designer of the decorations is still problematic, and there is not a single document supporting the possibility of a collaboration between these two great artists.

A map of Takagamine lists many names of artisans who followed Kōetsu in settling there, and it shows the location of their homes.²³ Sōtatsu's name is not listed there. The only document that firmly links Kōetsu to Sōtatsu is a letter written by the former, which was discovered recently.²⁴ In this letter, Kōetsu mentions a tea ceremony to which he and Sōtatsu were invited. It is dated simply September 6, but circumstantial evidence suggests that the year was 1621.²⁵

Even if personal and professional ties existed between Kōetsu and Sōtatsu, we cannot explain how this happy association began. Perhaps in 1606 when Kōetsu wrote the text for *Yōkyoku* he sensed the advantage in collaborating with Sōtatsu. Kōetsu seems to have worked with Sōtatsu again in 1608 on the project of the Saga Books. It is curious, however, that the decorative de-

²³ Hayashiya, *Kōetsu*, p. 141; Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, pp. 248–249.

²⁴ Hayashiya, *Kōetsu*, p. 69; Letter No. 83 on p. 122.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 248–249; Grilli, *Japanese Screen*, p. 263.

signs on the covers and texts of the Saga Books clearly reflect Sôtatsu's style, whereas the style of the narrative illustrations is unrelated to that of Sôtatsu and is in the Tosa tradition. As the pictures in the *Ise Monogatari* of the Saga Books publication exemplify, the illustrations in these books are very conservative, in style and composition. It is hard to believe that Sôtatsu, who was already in his middle age, was employed to design the paper used in texts and covers, while another painter illustrated the narrative scenes.

Scholars sometimes find it difficult to explain the puzzling mixture of the Tosa and Sôtatsu styles found in some narrative paintings. These paintings have been attributed to artists grouped in the ambiguous category called "miscellaneous, post-Sôtatsu school," which implies that the popular Sôtatsu style was adopted by the orthodox and traditionalist Tosa school. However, these paintings include elements that may shed some light on the mystery surrounding Sôtatsu's early training and career. This problem, however, is beyond the scope of the present study, yet I consider it pertinent to mention in the hope that it may prove helpful in the future understanding of Sôtatsu's early works, especially his narrative genre.

Sôtatsu's unusual method of illustrating narrative scenes with figures borrowed freely from old models may owe its inception to his association with Kôetsu. Kôetsu was very sympathetic towards the political cause of the Imperial court and its authority, which was then being undermined systematically by the Tokugawa *shôguns*. His feelings towards the court seem to have influenced his approach to works of art, especially his selection of themes in cal-

ligraphy and designs for lacquer wares. He wrote poems on many scrolls, with background designs being attributed to Sôtatsu. However, Kôetsu himself did not compose these poems. Instead, they were taken from Japanese anthologies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Kôetsu's taste in poetry leaned heavily towards the classical poetry of medieval Japan. Designs on lacquer wares attributed to him also reflect his strong reliance on the classics. Deceptively simple designs of flowers or landscapes often conceal motifs taken from traditional literature, or allusions to such motifs. This attitude of Kôetsu may be reflected in Sôtatsu's use of pictorial motifs taken from ancient paintings.

We also must recall the fact that Sôtatsu was admitted to the circle of Emperor Gomizuno-o and the cultivated and sophisticated noblemen at his court; they consciously tried to revive the classical arts and literature of Japan. This activity was partly due to a revolt against the oppressive and tyrannical policies of the *shôguns* in conflict with the Imperial house. The court nobles surrounding Gomizuno-o were politically powerless, and their only chance of recognition was in cultural matters. Emperor Gomizuno-o, himself, was an educated, sensitive, and artistic person.²⁶ His activities included the personal supervision of the work at the Shûgakuin Garden. He was also a great admirer of the Katsura Detached Palace. He collated the texts of the *Genji Monogatari* and *Ise Monogatari* and even wrote his own commentaries on these

²⁶ Kurita Mototsugu (栗田元次), *Edo Bakufu Seiji* (江戸幕府政治), vol. 1, *Iwanami Kôza Nihon Rekishi* (岩波講座日本歴史), vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1935), pp. 16-22; Nezu Bijutsu-kan (根津美術館) (ed.), *Gomizuno-o Tennô to sono Shûhen* (後水尾天皇とその周辺) (Tokyo, 1965).

great classics of Japan. Sōtatsu painted screens for this emperor in 1630, and his association with the members of the court might have played an important role in the development of his figure paintings.

While the material evidence for Sōtatsu's associations with Kōetsu and Gomizuno-o is limited to a few documents, the friendship enjoyed by Sōtatsu and Karasumaru Mitsuhiro is documented in extant paintings. Sōtatsu and Mitsuhiro worked together in 1630 on copies of the Saigyō scrolls, the colophon in this scroll being indispensable evidence of their close friendship and cooperation. Karasumaru Mitsuhiro, calligrapher, tea master, and accomplished poet in Chinese and Japanese styles, frequented the refined court of Gomizuno-o.²⁷ He was a nobleman of rebellious spirit, and he achieved notoriety for his eccentric mode of conduct. Sōtatsu's association with this cultured eccentric is not mentioned in any literary document, but there are some paintings by Sōtatsu, or attributed to him, which have colophons by Mitsuhiro. These paintings include a diptych representing bulls in Chōmyōji; a six-fold screen in the Hinohara collection, showing the Sekiya scene from the *Genji Monogatari*;²⁸ and the splendidly decorative screens of the Tsuta-no-hosomichi (Ivy Lane), illustrating an episode from the *Tales of Ise*, which are usually attributed to Sōtatsu.

Many narrative paintings by Sōtatsu are composed with figures transplanted

from old paintings. These paintings are, furthermore, connected directly or indirectly with the name of Mitsuhiro. The Sekiya screen in the Hinohara collection, which has Mitsuhiro's colophon, includes many figures derived from the Saigyō scrolls. A pair of Genji screens in the Seikadō Foundation and a screen in the Fujioka collection, which represents an unidentified theme, are not inscribed by Mitsuhiro, but they contain many figures which were also transplanted from the Saigyō scrolls. Since Sōtatsu copied the Saigyō scrolls in 1630, these figure paintings may be dated after that year. The ink paintings portraying two bulls in Chōmyōji have colophons by Mitsuhiro. Sōtatsu copied these bulls from the scenes in a version of the Tenjin Engi scrolls. A famous pair of screens depicting the Thunder and Wind Gods may be indirectly connected with Mitsuhiro, although they have no inscription by him. These gods are derived from the vengeful, fierce demons portrayed in a Tenjin Engi scroll, which is probably the same version of this *emaki* used by Sōtatsu as his model in painting the bulls on the Chōmyōji scrolls. In addition, some of the small fans and album leaves whose scenes were inspired by the *Ise Monogatari* may be associated with Mitsuhiro. In 1636, Mitsuhiro inscribed a Kamakura-period version of the *Ise Monogatari* scrolls; Sōtatsu may have had a chance to study and copy this scroll.

We have no information about Sōtatsu's figure painting technique prior to 1630, when he and Mitsuhiro copied the Saigyō scrolls. Chikusai, who referred in the 1620s to Sōtatsu's fan painting of a Genji scene, makes no comment on the style or composition of this painting. We are, therefore,

²⁷ Komatsu Shigemi (小松茂美), "Mitsuhiro no Geijutsu (光廣の藝術)," *Sansai*, no. 118 (September, 1959), pp. 52-55.

²⁸ Not to be confused with another six-fold screen of the same subject, but without inscription, owned by the Seikadō Foundation, Tokyo.

unable to ascertain whether Sôtatsu was already borrowing motifs from old models in the 1620s. As far as we can determine from extant examples, Sôtatsu's use of borrowed motifs in creating his own compositions cannot be dated prior to 1630. It is quite possible, then, that Mitsuhiro was instrumental in stimulating a new interest and formulating a direction for Sôtatsu in the art of narrative paintings. Mitsuhiro's own interest and conviction in the revival of the ancient glory of Japanese arts may have guided Sôtatsu in his new career.

Although the idea of borrowing pictorial motifs might have been inspired by Kôetsu or Mitsuhiro, the manner in which Sôtatsu used them is his own. As it will be demonstrated later, an outstanding feature of Sôtatsu's figure paintings is that a small number of figures are used repeatedly in various combinations with other figures. In this way, Sôtatsu was able to create an infinite variety of compositions in spite of a rather limited repertory. He did so precisely in works executed with the stamping technique, for example, the Ryûtatsubushi and other poem scrolls.

Except for the famous screens and two versions of the Saigyô scrolls, most of the figure paintings by Sôtatsu are executed on small fans and album leaves. To be sure, not all these paintings were made by Sôtatsu himself. The style of extant ones suggests a large number of authors who share, in most instances, a stylistic similarity, which may be considered as the trademark of the Tawaraya. Since Sôtatsu is likely to have owned and operated the Tawaraya, we may assume that many of these fans and album leaves were made either by the master, himself, or by his assistants, who worked

under his direct supervision or followed Sôtatsu's style and working method.

Painted fans, which can be stylistically linked to Sôtatsu and his shop, amount to more than one hundred. Most of these fans were pasted on folding screens; few of them were actually used as fans. The circumstances under which these fans were pasted on folding screens are unknown, but at least some of these arrangements date to the late Edo period.²⁹ Among the most famous screens which include fans with narrative scenes are the following: a pair of two-fold screens with eleven fans in the Sambôin at Daigoji; a pair of eight-fold screens with forty-seven fans in the Imperial Household collection;³⁰ a pair of six-fold screens with sixty fans in the Hara collection. A six-fold screen with thirty fans in the Freer Gallery also belongs to this group of fan-screens. In addition, an eight-fold screen with fifteen fans was recently discovered in Shikoku,³¹ and a six-fold screen

²⁹ Kondô Bukan (近藤武幹), "Gyomotsu Sôtatsu Semmenchirashi Byôbu no Denrai ni tsuite no Goden (御物宗達扇面散屏風の傳來についての誤傳)," (On Misinformation Concerning the History of the Screen with Fan-paintings by Sôtatsu in the Imperial Collection), *Kobijutsu*, 33 (March, 1971), pp. 78-82.

³⁰ One fan (middle fan, on the third panel of the left screen) was painted in later period. See Chizawa Teiji (千澤楨治), "Gyomotsu Semmen-ga ni taisuru Gigi (御物扇面畫に對する疑義)," (Suspensions on the Screens of Fan-paper Paintings in the Imperial Household), *Ars Buddhica*, 14 (December, 1951), p. 34, footnote 4. In this article, Chizawa switched the usual designation of left and right screens, creating a confusion. The usual designation, that is, the reversal of Chizawa's, will be used in this article.

³¹ Yamane Yûzô, "Den Sôtatsu hitsu no Hôgen Heiji Monogatari E Semmen ni tsuite (傳宗達筆の保元平治物語繪扇面について)," (Fan Paintings of the Tales of Hôgen and Heiji, attributed to Sôtatsu), *Yamato Bunka*, 30 (July, 1959), pp. 60-75. This article will be hereafter referred to as Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 30.

with sixteen fans was also recently discovered.³² These newly-discovered fans were taken off the screens and are now scattered among various private collections, including the Bridgestone Museum, Umezawa Kinenkan Museum, and the Akiba collection.

The narrative scenes painted on the extant fans are, in most instances, eventually traced to *emaki* of the Kamakura period. The themes most frequently painted on these fans are battle scenes borrowed from illustrations of the Hōgen and Heiji insurrections. The Hōgen pictures are found primarily on the screens in the Imperial collection and in the Freer Gallery. Many Heiji pictures are found on the fans in the Imperial collection and from Shikoku. Scenes inspired by old *emaki* such as the Tenjin Engi and Saigyō scrolls are painted on a small group of fans. Chikusai made a special reference to a Sōtatsu fan showing a brilliantly colored scene from the *Genji Monogatari*. However, it is significant that the scenes from this most popular novel of Japan are found only on the fans in the Hara collection. The Hara screens also include many fans depicting episodes from the *Ise Monogatari*, which are found only infrequently on other screens. The Hara screens are also exceptional in another respect: they include a number of fans decorated with monochrome paintings of Chinese subjects, which are a true rarity among the fan paintings associated with Sōtatsu's name.

Compositions and figures painted on these fans are, in most instances, a re-

arrangement of pictorial motifs found in ancient paintings, rather than totally original designs by the artist-composer. This fact poses a fascinating problem. In all probability, future studies may eventually trace all the narrative fans to some early prototypes.

The Freer screen measures 154.4 cm. in height and 362.7 cm. in width, and its background is completely covered by gold leaf (*fig. 1*). Thirty painted fans are arranged in a decorative manner on the six panels of the screen. In addition, there are twelve folded or half-opened fans scattered about as decorative space-fillers. These half-opened fans are made of strips of paper cut from fans. Compared to the screens in the Sambōin, Imperial Household and Hara collections, the Freer screen reflects a much more daring approach to the decorative arrangement of fans on screens. Many fans are placed across the joints of the screen; others overlap and still others are placed upside down. The addition of half-opened or folded fans is another innovation not seen in the screens belonging to the three other collections. The thirty fully-opened fans measure roughly the same dimensions: about 57.0 cm. across the widest part, and about 18–20 cm. in height. The fans are pasted on the screen, but their ribs are painted in ink. In this study, the fans are indicated by number running from top to bottom, right to left, and the position of each may be seen in the diagram (*text fig. 1*). In the group of thirty fans, ten have designs of flowers, birds and animals while the remainder show narrative scenes.

With the exception of five, all the other fully-opened fans have red, round seals impressed at their corners. These seals may be classed into two groups. The first, Seal A, is the smaller one, and it measures 1.6

³² Yamane Yūzō, "Sōtatsu Semmen-ga Kenkyū e no Ichi Kiyo (宗達扇面畫研究への一寄與)," (A Study on the Fan Paintings Attributed to Sōtatsu), *Yamato Bunka*, 36 (January, 1962), pp. 1–11. This article will be hereafter referred to as Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 36.

cm. in diameter. It appears on eight fans showing non-narrative scenes (nos. 5, 7, 9, 14, 15, 23, 29 and 30), and on ten fans with narrative scenes (nos. 1, 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 27 and 28). The same seal is found in nine fans from the group of sixteen newly-discovered fans.³³ Unfortunately, none of these seals can be properly deciphered. Yamane suggests that it is a highly stylized symbol, and that it was not meant to be a decipherable Chinese character.³⁴

So far as it is known, there is not a single painting which bears both this seal and Sôtatsu's signature, and it is most unlikely that Sôtatsu, himself, used this seal on his paintings. Nakamura has discarded the thesis that this seal and others like it have any significance, stating that they are all trademarks used by makers of fan paper and were meant to be cut off when the fan was completed.³⁵ However, since a significant number of fans which were actually used as fans still include the seals, it is difficult to accept Nakamura's suggestion.³⁶ Moreover, the seal is often placed at some distance from the edge of the paper, which would make it impossible to cut off without destroying the picture. On the other hand, some of the sixteen newly-discovered fans have this seal in addition to a large, round seal whose characters read

"Inen (伊年)."³⁷ This Inen seal is similar to many other Inen seals placed on paintings attributed to Sôtatsu or his followers. However, no monumental paintings attributed to Sôtatsu and his school show both Seal A and the Inen seal. It is difficult to explain why a painter, or a painter's shop, used double seals only on fans.

Although Nakamura has dismissed all these Inen seals impressed on fans as spurious,³⁸ a more careful stylistic analysis of these paintings is needed before it may be possible to establish the relationship of the seal to any single artist. Yamane believes that those among the sixteen newly discovered fans bearing Seal A reflect similar stylistic traits, and he concludes that they should be attributed to one painter.³⁹

Seal B, the larger one of the two, is also a red, round seal, measuring 2.4 cm. in diameter. This seal is also indecipherable, but the two characters vaguely suggest the reading "Taitō (太藤)" or "Ôfuji." This seal is found on fans nos. 2, 6, 18, 20, 22, 25 and 26, all of which depict narrative scenes, and it does not occur on the flower or bird paintings. This seal is found only on the Freer fans, a fact that conflicts with Nakamura's opinion that these seals belonged to the makers of fan paper.

The following discussion of the Freer fans will attempt to identify the subjects of the narrative scenes and their models. As stated previously, almost identical scenes are found on fans in other collections. In such instances, a stylistic comparison of the fans in different collections might prove useful. No attempt will be made, however, to attribute these fans to any particular

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3. Yamane sees a similarity between these seals and the one found on an Imperial fan, but this is hard to judge from a small drawing provided by Chizawa in his article (*Ars Buddhica*, 14, p. 35); Yamane also reports on a similar seal impressed on the back of the paper of a calligraphic work by Shōkadō Shōjō. See Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 36, p. 11, note 10.

³⁴ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 36, p. 2.

³⁵ Nakamura Kiyoe (中村清兄), "Sôtatsu Byōga Ron (宗達描畫論)," (*On the Drawing Technique of Sôtatsu*), *Yamato Bunka*, 28 (December, 1958), p. 60.

³⁶ Such as the one in the Akiba collection. See Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 36, pls. 9 and 11.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁸ Nakamura, *Yamato Bunka*, 28.

³⁹ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 36, p. 7.

painter, since many other Sōtatsu-attributed paintings are still problematical. As is true with other narrative fans, the predominant number of the Freer fans illustrate the Hōgen and Heiji insurrections, while a small number of them represent scenes from the *Tenjin Engi* and *Ise Monogatari*. It seems pertinent to briefly describe the tales and their pictorial representations that might have served as models for these fan paintings before proceeding to the discussion of individual compositions.

The Hōgen and Heiji Insurrections

By the nature of their historical backgrounds, the stories of these two civil wars and their pictorial traditions can best be treated together. The Hōgen uprising of 1156 put an end to the rule by the powerful and dominant statesmen of the Fujiwara aristocracy. The Heiji insurrection of 1159 heralded a military dominance in Japan: the victorious military clan, the Taira, emerged as the new ruler of the country, temporarily eclipsing the rival Minamoto family.

Both civil wars were short-lived, lasting only a few weeks, but their effects were felt for a long time on all aspects of the political life of the Japanese. They also became the subjects of highly popular, semi-historical novels called the *Hōgen Monogatari* (保元物語)⁴⁰ and *Heiji Monogatari* (平治物語),⁴¹ which describe the superhuman heroism of the warriors and the tragic fate of the defeated. The literature of the Hōgen and Heiji wars, transmitted orally at first by

travelling story-tellers and blind minstrels, was gradually formed into written works, probably at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴² These works are generally considered as the first historical novels of Japan.

Illustrated scrolls of these stories were made probably soon after the formation of the novels. Three scrolls and fourteen small fragments of a fourth illustrating the Heiji incident exist today, and they date in the Kamakura period.⁴³ Among these, the most famous one is the scroll of the Burning of the Sanjō Palace in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It illustrates the dramatic scene of the fire which consumed the Sanjō Palace. The second scroll in the Seikadō Foundation in Tokyo depicts the tragic fate of Fujiwara Shinzei (藤原信西). The third one in the Tokyo National Museum illustrates the temporary move of Emperor Nijō (二條天皇) to the Rokuhara Mansion of Kiyomori, the leader of the Taira clan. Fourteen small fragments saved from a damaged fourth scroll depict the fierce battle at Rokuhara, where the Taira army won a decisive battle over the Minamoto warriors. These fragments are scattered among various collectors, but their original form can be reconstructed from copies made in the Edo period.

A set of *emaki* which illustrates the Heiji war must have once included many more than four scrolls. There are Edo-period copies of now lost Heiji scrolls which describe episodes not included in the above

⁴⁰ William Wilson, tr., *Hōgen Monogatari; Tale of the Disorder in Hōgen* (Tokyo, 1971).

⁴¹ E. O. Reischauer and K. Yamagiwa, *Translations from Early Japanese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pp. 375-457.

⁴² Nagazumi Yasuaki (永積安明) and Shimada Isao (島田勇雄), *Hōgen Monogatari, Heiji Monogatari, Nihon Kōten Bungaku Taikō*, vol. 31, ed. Takagi Ichinosuke (高木市之助), et al. (Tokyo, 1961), p. 39.

⁴³ Tanaka Ichimatsu (田中一松), et al., *Heiji Monogatari Emaki* (平治物語繪卷), *Nihon Emaki-mono Zenshū* (日本繪卷物全集), vol. 9, ed. Matsushita Takaaki (松下隆章), et al. (Tokyo, 1964).

four scrolls. These copies include a scroll of the Taiken-mon battle (待賢門合戦卷) in the Tokyo National Museum,⁴⁴ and the story of Tokiwa (常盤卷) in the Yasuda collection.⁴⁵ These copies suggest that the Heiji picture scrolls were usually made in large sets, consisting of many scrolls. It is clear, then, that the extant Heiji scrolls represent only a fraction of the many episodes that once existed.

Compared to the Heiji picture scrolls, which are fairly well represented by extant paintings and later copies, the pictorial materials of the Hōgen uprising are pitifully meagre. Possibly, the Hōgen and Heiji picture scrolls were made originally as companion pieces. Unfortunately, however, the existence of the Kamakura scrolls of the Hōgen war is known only from a literary source. A fifteenth-century diary, the *Kammon Gyoki* (看聞御記), states, in its entry for May 30 of the eighth year of the Eikyō era (1436), that a temple at Mt. Hiei owned a set of fifteen scrolls of the Hōgen uprising painted by a Takuma (宅磨) artist and that this temple also owned the Heiji scrolls.⁴⁶

The earliest extant picture of the Hōgen war is a late sixteenth-century six-fold screen

⁴⁴ Asano Nagatake (淺野長武), *et al.* (ed.), *Nihon Kassen Emaki* (日本合戦繪卷) (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 86–92.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 93–96; the entry for November 4 of the 32nd year of the Ōei era (1425) in the *Kammon Gyoki* refers to a Tokiwa scroll which seems to have been a Kamakura-period work. See Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kansei-kai (續群書類從完成會) (ed.), *Kammon Gyoki* (Tokyo, 1944).

⁴⁶ Also in the *Yasutomi Ki* (康富記), in the entry for July 10 of the fifth year of the Bun'an Era (1448). See Zōho Shiryō Taisei Kankō-kai (増補資料大成刊行會) (ed.), *Zōji Shiryō Taisei*, (Kyoto, 1965), vol. 38, p. 311; and in the entry for September 30 of the third year of the Entoku Era (1491) in the *Daijō-in Jisha Zōji-ki* (大乘院寺社造事記), edited by Tsuji Zenosuke (辻善之助), (Tokyo, 1936), vol. 10, p. 71.

in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. This screen forms a pair with a six-fold screen illustrating the Heiji incident.⁴⁷ Episodes from the Hōgen story, from its beginning to the aftermath, are spread over the surface of this screen, and the entire setting for the narrative is conceived as a unified space. A wide, panoramic view of the city and countryside, with golden clouds hovering over them, suggests that the artist had mastered the technique of depicting many episodes and a multitude of figures in a coherent manner, rather than relying on the compositional device of creating arbitrary or artificial cells.

There is an early nineteenth-century copy of a Hōgen screen in the Tokyo National Museum,⁴⁸ whose lost original was attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu (土佐光信).⁴⁹ The copy was made by Kanō Osanobu (1796–1848) (狩野養信), who copied the left screen in September, 1806, when he was eleven years old, and the right screen on June 27, 1808, when he was thirteen years of age. Osanobu's copy seems to preserve the quality of the original painting faithfully. It shows remarkable similarity to the Hōgen pictures by Sōtatsu and his colleagues. This suggests that Osanobu and Sōtatsu may have used the same model and that this model strongly resembled Osanobu's copy in the Tokyo National Museum.

There is a noticeable absence of structural unity in Osanobu's composition, but this is probably due to the prototype he used. Figures in his screen are confined

⁴⁷ Miyeko Murase, "Japanese Screen Paintings of the Hōgen and Heiji Insurrections," *Artibus Asiae*, 29 (1967), pp. 193–228.

⁴⁸ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 30, pp. 65–71; Asano, *Nihon Kassen Emaki*, pp. 58–59.

⁴⁹ Kurokawa Mayori (黒川眞頼) (ed.), *Zōho Kōko Gafu* (増補考古畫譜) (Tokyo, 1902), vol. 10, p. 46.

within narrow horizontal bands, separating them from other groups of figures in the adjoining space. These figures move from right to left, creating a strong movement in that direction as is often seen in an *emaki*. This quality led Yamane to suggest that the original of Osanobu's copy is older than the Metropolitan Museum's screen, which reflects a more advanced compositional scheme.⁵⁰ One notices, however, a point of similarity between Osanobu's copy in Tokyo and the Metropolitan Museum's screen. In both works, the dramatic scenes of battle, involving hundreds of warriors, are depicted in the central section, while the quieter, less dramatic events are depicted at the edges and corners of the compositions. The peripheral areas showing distant mountains and seas remote from the battlefield are separated from the combat not only by distance but also in time. Thus, in Osanobu's copy, one of the last and surely the most tragic episodes of the Hōgen incident, which describes the last days of the deposed Emperor Sutoku in exile, is represented at the top left corner of the left screen. The same episode is cursorily represented at the right edge in the Metropolitan's screen. Other scenes describing the episodes before and after the battle are also relegated to the peripheral areas. It seems that the work copied by Osanobu had two conflicting features: on the one hand, a strong residue of *emaki* composition in which all movements flow from right to left in one plane; and on the other, the new concept of a unified picture surface, wherein a sense of time and space is well defined in its landscape settings. We may assume, then, that Osanobu's model re-

flected a transitional stage of composition, preceding the mature, well-established type as can be seen in the Metropolitan's screen.

Osanobu's copy in Tokyo and the Metropolitan Museum's screen may resemble one another as to the spatial treatment of pictorial surface, but individual episodes show considerable variations, suggesting that their prototypes belonged to different families of Hōgen pictures. The differences between these two versions of the Hōgen illustrations may be summed up as follows: (1) Osanobu's model represented only a small number of episodes. Its illustrated scenes were largely concentrated on the stories described in Volume II of the *Hōgen Monogatari*, which narrates the tragic fate of the defeated Sutoku and his followers; (2) two minor episodes are illustrated in Osanobu's copy, but they are not included in the Metropolitan's screen, although the latter includes many more illustrations from the cycle. At the lower left corner of the left screen in Osanobu's copy stands a horse without its rider, and a groom looks sadly on a set of battle armor which is discarded on the ground (*fig. 2*). This small, but poignant scene refers to the story of Nobuyori, who had escaped alone to the suburbs of the capital but rushed back and threw off his armor in order to aid his wounded master.⁵¹ Another scene on the right screen depicts a sad experience of Sutoku, who was on his way to exile in Shikoku and who wanted to stop at Anrakuju-in to pray for the deceased Emperor Toba. His plea was not heard and, in resignation, he ordered his carriage to be unhooked from the ox and turned around

⁵⁰ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 30, p. 64.

⁵¹ Wilson, *Hōgen*, pp. 46-47.

momentarily facing the direction of the temple (*fig. 3*).⁵²

These details are given only in popular printed editions of the Hōgen text which were largely published in the seventeenth century and later, and they do not occur in the older, hand-copied versions. The printed texts of the Hōgen story, which are known as the Rufu-bon (common editions) (流布本), were based on a Hōgen text generally believed to be the final version. Furthermore, this text seems to have been edited in the Muromachi period, probably after 1446.⁵³ Yamane suggested that the author of Osanobu's prototype used as his model an *emaki* illustrating Hōgen scenes and that this *emaki* might have been made before the Muromachi period.⁵⁴ If the model of the Rufu-bon was edited in the mid-fifteenth century, then the illustrated *Hōgen Monogatari* based on this version of the text could not have dated from so early a time.

On the Freer screen, seven fans can be definitely identified as Hōgen pictures. They are nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 20, 21 and 27. Yamane identified eleven Hōgen pictures on this screen,⁵⁵ including the seven cited above, no. 6, and three others unspecified.

Fan No. 2—Seal B (fig. 4)

Near the center of this fan, occupying a large area, is a dark horse carrying two noblemen. A cartouche behind the man seated on the hindquarter of the horse is only partially legible. It reads: "Shi-i no Shōshō ... A ... (四位少將...朝...)" (Fourth

Rank Lower Captain), referring to the rank held by Fujiwara Naritaka. Another identification placed before the horse names his companion, "Sadaijin (左大臣)" (Great Minister of the Left), referring to the title of Fujiwara Yorinaga. Three attendants surround this pair. This scene illustrates the flight of Sutoku and his entourage from the Shirakawa Palace.⁵⁶ In Osanobu's copy, Yorinaga and Naritaka, riding a horse, follow two attendants (*fig. 5*). In the fan, these retainers are moved to the back of the horse, so that they follow their masters. A third retainer, who turns his head to look at his master on the horse, was transplanted from another scene in Osanobu's screen. With slight variation, the same composition is found on a fan in the Bridgestone Museum.⁵⁷

Fan No. 3—Seal A (fig. 6)

A diagonal line made by the roof top cuts the composition into two halves. A similar scene is found at the top on the first panel in Osanobu's screen (*fig. 7*). Although the meaning of this scene is not clear, its position in relation to other scenes in the screen suggests that it might have depicted an episode narrated at the beginning of the Hōgen story (*fig. 7*). Yamane suggested that the scene depicts courtier Chikahisa on his mission to investigate the condition of the Imperial palace which was under attack.⁵⁸ In Osanobu's copy, the roof top of the gate building is hardly visible, and Chikahisa stands to the left. In the Freer fan, on the other hand, the roof top occupies a large area and Chikahisa stands at the lower right-hand corner. The horse

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁵³ Nagazumi and Shimada, *Hōgen Monogatari*, p. 37.

⁵⁴ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 30, p. 64.

⁵⁵ Yamane, *Sôtatsu*, p. 213.

⁵⁶ Wilson, *Hōgen*, p. 46.

⁵⁷ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 30, pl. X.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65; Wilson, *Hōgen*, p. 35.

and a retainer in Osanobu's screen are replaced by two crouching and rotund figures. These figures are used very frequently in Sōtatsu's paintings, including the Miotsukushi screen in the Seikadō Foundation and a fan in the Imperial collection. They are traced, often casually, to a Hōgen picture, but their models are not found either in the Metropolitan screen or Osanobu's copy.

Two more versions of this scene are known today. One of these, with additional attendants and horses, is among the fans recently discovered in Shikoku;⁵⁹ another, which is much closer to Osanobu's composition, is in the Imperial collection.⁶⁰

Fan No. 4—Seal A (fig. 8)

Three crouched figures in animated gestures shown at the right are identical with those in the Miotsukushi screen in the Seikadō Foundation. The two at the left in this group were also depicted in fan no. 3 in a different arrangement. Two men on horseback move from left to right. These courtiers and three spectators are represented, in a slightly modified arrangement, on a fan in the Imperial collection.⁶¹ Fortunately, the latter includes cartouches that identify the horse-riding courtiers. The labels name Iehiro, who is on the right, and he is followed by his son, Mitsuhiro, on the left. These men came galloping on horses to report on the advancing enemy force.⁶² The agitated gestures of three men crouched at the right express their reactions to the report brought by the father and son. The models for these courtiers are found in the

third panel of the right screen by Osanobu, "probably" representing the sons of defeated Yōrinaga on their way to exile (fig. 9).⁶³ Although the text refers to four sons of Yōrinaga, Osanobu's screen shows only two courtiers and their attendants. The scene, however, suggests the quiet gloom of the occasion when once powerful princes were being sent to exile. If Yamane's suggestion is correct, it contradicts the identification of the two principal figures made on the Imperial fan. It is possible that the change made on this fan was intentional, since a different mood of fear and anticipation seems to prevail in this painting. Further changes were introduced on the Freer fan: horse-riding courtiers are turned around from their original positions so that they move in the opposite direction. The horse in the center of the picture raises its head high, as if in excitement. These modifications of the model and the introduction of the figures of spectators help to heighten the sense of fear and anxiety of the scene.

Fan No. 8—no seal (fig. 10)

This scene depicts one of the most poignant episodes in the Hōgen story, when a stray arrow hit the neck of Yōrinaga, who was trying to escape.⁶⁴ In this fan, Yōrinaga's torso is hardly visible, because of damage to the fan. Yōrinaga's companion, Naritaka, supports his body from behind. The sense of shock and grief is effectively expressed by Yōrinaga's bent head and the agitated gestures of his retainers. With the exception of the figure at the extreme right, an almost identical scene is found in Osa-

⁵⁹ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 30, p. 72, fig. 8.

⁶⁰ Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, p. 63.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Wilson, *Hōgen*, p. 46.

⁶³ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 30, p. 70; Wilson, *Hōgen*, pp. 92–95.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

nobu's copy (*fig. 11*). This episode seems to have been particularly popular at Sōtatsu's workshop, and there are at least two more fans that depict the same scene. One in the Imperial collection shows only two attendants, who draw our attention forcefully to the fatally wounded Yorinaga and his companion.⁶⁵ The same group is depicted again on a fan in the Bridgestone Museum.⁶⁶

Fan No. 20—Seal B (fig. 12)

A warrior on horseback gives an order to two footsoldiers, proudly waving a sun-decorated fan. A cartouche, which once identified this warrior, is worn, the writing now illegible. A similar armor-clad warrior on horseback leads the group of soldiers on the top register on the right screen in Osanobu's copy (*fig. 13*). He was identified by Yamane as Yoshitomo.⁶⁷ The Hōgen text describes Yoshitomo, who rode a large black horse, as a big man, wearing a helmet decorated with hoe-shaped horns.⁶⁸ The fan in the Imperial collection includes the same warrior and some retainers around him.⁶⁹ This warrior is portrayed also on a fan belonging to the Umezawa collection, which includes Seal A.⁷⁰

On the Freer fan, this warrior is shown as a large, imposing figure with large eyes and mouth. This painting lack finesse, a quality that characterizes the fans depicting the same scene in the Imperial and Umezawa collections. Footsoldiers and

retainers who surround the warrior are eliminated from the Freer fan; in their place, two men and a building are introduced into this composition. Two men are about to throw torches towards the building, and this motif recurs on fan no. 16. A fan on the Imperial screen, which depicts one of these soldiers, is designated by Uemura as a Hōgen illustration,⁷¹ but he does not identify the specific episode. Unfortunately, no prototype for these figures is found in Osanobu's Hōgen picture.

Fan No. 21—no seal (fig. 14)

The principal figures of this composition are two courtiers at the left, probably Yorinaga and Naritaka, who seem to share a horse. This pair was already seen in fan no. 2 (*fig. 4*). They are not only reversed in this fan as mirror images, but also their positions on the horse are exchanged. Some of the agitated attendants were also seen in reversed poses on fan no. 8 (*fig. 10*). However, this composition lacks structural unity, and the quality of the drawing is inferior to that seen in fans nos. 2 and 8.

Fan No. 27—Seal A (fig. 15)

The two horse-riding noblemen of this scene have already been described in connection with fan no. 4 (*fig. 9*). The *suyari*, which cuts off the lower portion of the figures in the Edo copy, is transformed here into a bold, decorative gold band, and a few branches of blossoming tree are added at the right. These details, and the absence of the agitated spectators, who were seen in fan no. 4, help to restore the serene and doomed atmosphere which characterized

⁶⁵ Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, p. 64.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70, top.

⁶⁷ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 30, p. 68.

⁶⁸ Wilson, *Hōgen*, pp. 40–41.

⁶⁹ Tanaka, *Heiji*, plate facing p. 9. The cartouche accompanying the warrior is not clear, but it is deciphered as "Yoshitomo" in this publication.

⁷⁰ Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, p. 72, bottom.

⁷¹ Uemura Masurō (上村益郎), *Sōtatsu* (Tokyo, 1940), fig. 16.

this scene in Osanobu's copy. These court nobles are also depicted on the Imperial fan in a very similar manner.⁷²

Fan No. 6—Seal B (fig. 16)

A single figure of a horse-riding warrior with outstretched arms occupies the composition. Although this figure is not found in Osanobu's copy, Yamane identified him as Tametomo in pursuit of the enemy force. However, the warrior looks as though he has been shot and is in agony. The label which once identified this warrior has flaked off, and the true identity of this hero remains a question. The same warrior is depicted on another fan which is now in the Akiba collection.⁷³ The Akiba fan, moreover, has two seals, Seal A, and a large Inen seal. The two figures on these fans are almost identical, with the exception of small details such as the position of warrior's right hand, designs on his armor, and the angles at which bow and sword are placed in relation to his body. The most noticeable difference between these two paintings is their style. In general, the Akiba painting shows a marked degree of refinement, while the Freer work reflects a coarseness in the handling of facial features and decorative details.

The study of the Hōgen scenes depicted on these fans suggests that the fan-painters and Osanobu used models which belonged to the same recension of Hōgen pictures. Chances are that they were one and the same. This Hōgen illustration, however, was different from the version which was used by the artist of the Metropolitan Museum's screen.

Warriors involved in the Heiji revolt,

the victorious ones as well as the defeated, were also the favorite subjects painted by the members of Sōtatsu's workshop. With the exception of the Sambōin screens, these soldiers are painted on many fans in other collections. The greatest number of Heiji fans is found on the Imperial screens.⁷⁴

Akiyama clarified that all the Heiji pictures that Sōtatsu and his associates painted on fans were inspired by a single Heiji scroll known as the scroll of the Rokuhara Kassen (Rokuhara Battle) (六波羅合戦巻).⁷⁵ This scroll has survived only in fourteen small fragments, but its original form can be reconstructed with the help of copies which were made in the Edo period. One of these copies, an ink drawing in the Tokyo National Museum, was made by Kanō Yōseki (狩野養碩)⁷⁶ and Hirata Kotarō (平田小太郎) in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. This copy not only preserves minor details well but also reflects stylistic features characteristic of other pictures of the Heiji war made in the Kamakura period. Yōseki's copy in Tokyo begins with the illustration of a famous episode, when Kiyomori, upset by the news of a sudden attack by the Genji army, pushed his helmet backwards on his head.⁷⁷ A text must have preceded this picture, but it has been lost. This scene is followed by the frenzied activity of Kiyomori's men in the courtyard, and it quickly

⁷⁴ For the identification of episodes depicted on these fans, see Akiyama Terukazu (秋山光和), "Heiji Monogatari-e Rokuhara Kassen Emaki ni tsuite (平治物語繪六波羅合戦繪巻について)," (Fragments of Hitherto Unknown Scroll of Heiji Monogatari), *Yamato Bunka*, 7 (July, 1952), pp. 10–11.

⁷⁵ The entire scroll is reproduced in Tanaka, *Heiji*.

⁷⁶ He may be the same man as Yokota Yōseki, a pupil of Kanō Shōun (1637–1702).

⁷⁷ Nagazumi and Shimada, *Hōgen Monogatari*, p. 233.

⁷² Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, p. 65.

⁷³ Yamane, *Yamato Bunka*, 36, pp. 5–6, pl. III.

moves to the climax of the Heiji war: the decisive battle fought by the two armies at Rokuhara. It ends with the defeat of the Minamoto clan and the destruction by fire of the houses of Nobuyori and Yoshitomo.

It is possible to identify only three fans on the Freer screen as the illustrations of the *Heiji Monogatari*, nos. 18, 22, and 25. Yamane attributed five pictures to this story, but he did not identify the fans that illustrate it.⁷⁸

Fan No. 18—Seal B (fig. 17)

This scene belongs to the last phase of the Rokuhara battle, when the Heike force set afire the houses of Nobuyori and Yoshitomo. In the Edo copy, Heike soldiers stand facing the gate building, which is engulfed in the burning fire (*fig. 18*). On the Freer fan, the scene shows a warrior wearing a tall hat, who is accompanied by a retainer. These two men are set clearly apart from three soldiers at the left. Except for a very minor change made in the positions of bows, the figures are identical in two compositions. Gold and silver cloud formations are painted at the left on the fan as a substitute for the burning buildings. This change in the composition contradicts the foot-soldier's gesture, his hand raised as he tries to look at the fire. This soldier and a small portion of his master's horse are still preserved in a fragment from the Kamakura period.⁷⁹

Fan No. 22—Seal B (fig. 19)

This composition is derived from a fierce battle scene which took place outside the defense line in front of Kiyomori's

Rokuhara mansion. This scene is not preserved in the Kamakura fragment, but Yōseki's copy helps to recapture the composition in the lost original (*fig. 20*). Surrounded by his men, Kiyomori rushes out of the fence, as he himself conducts a counterattack on the Genji army. Kiyomori is depicted in the upper section of the fan, but his torso is badly defaced.

Fan No. 25—Seal B (fig. 21)

A hand-to-hand battle ensued in the confusing struggle, involving almost all the Heike and Genji men (*fig. 22*). The Freer fan shows two soldiers locked in hand-to-hand combat, and they are using daggers to slash each other's throat. This section in the Kamakura-period scroll is not preserved, but the same scene in the Metropolitan screen and the Edo-period drawing are identical to that in the Freer composition. This fact suggests that the Kamakura fragment must have looked very much like the Freer fan. A curving line of the ground and two large willow trees are added to the Freer painting, and they create a rather incongruous atmosphere of idyllic country-side as setting for a bloody episode.

The three Heiji paintings on the Freer screen not only include Seal B but also share distinct stylistic similarities. Tall, slender figures of soldiers are outlined in soft, flowing brushstrokes. In general, the poses and arrangements of figures are similar to those in the Kamakura fragments and the Edo copy. Major changes were made only in their settings. However, as Akiyama has pointed out,⁸⁰ the Sôtatsu-attributed fan paintings of this story present a complex problem as to the relationship between the

⁷⁸ Yamane, *Sôtatsu*, p. 213.

⁷⁹ Akiyama, "Heiji Monogatari-e," pl. IX, fig. 13.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

model and the copy. A few minor details in the fans differ from the Kamakura fragments. Such a famous episode as that of Kiyomori, when he rammed the helmet backwards on his head, is an example of this situation. The Edo drawing depicts Kiyomori wearing the helmet correctly, which contradicts textual detail. This episode was painted more than once by artists of Sōtatsu's atelier. In the Imperial fan, Kiyomori is represented as he is described in the text, wearing the helmet backwards. On other fans, he is depicted as in the Edo drawing, contradicting the text. A pole for the streamer is omitted from a battle scene in the Burke fragment from the Kamakura period, but the streamer nevertheless flies freely. The Edo copy and the Metropolitan screen depict the same textual passage in a logical manner and show the flag pole prominently. The fan in the Imperial collection, on the other hand, represents the same scene without the streamer.⁸¹

The date of the Kamakura picture itself is problematical. The extant pictures of the Rokuhara battle scroll may not be the very first version of the Heiji illustration. Suzuki, who studied the costumes and battle-armor depicted in this scroll, dates it to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, later than other Heiji scrolls, which he dates in the mid-thirteenth century.⁸² Akiyama also raised the question of date and made a tentative suggestion that

Sōtatsu could have copied from a version of the Rokuhara battle scroll slightly different from the extant one.

The Metropolitan Museum's screen of the *Heiji Monogatari* is earlier than Sōtatsu-attributed fan paintings of the same story, and it has many scenes which are similar to those represented on the fans. Even so, it could not have served as a model for the fan paintings. Sōtatsu's fan paintings of this story are limited to the scenes of the Rokuhara battle, whereas the Metropolitan screen depicts this battle in proper historical perspective, as one episode only from the full cycle of the Heiji illustrations. The artist of the Metropolitan screen made many compositional changes, so that the Rokuhara battle stories are an integral part of the larger composition. Thus, he found it necessary to reduce or increase the number of figures, to switch the orientation of figures, and to scatter the figures over the wider area offered by the large surface of a screen. The fan paintings also display some alterations, but they are executed with a keen eye for the compositional restrictions imposed by the peculiar fan shape. Only a small number of figures were taken out of a larger scene and transplanted into the tightly constricted space, and they were used out of their original context. Nevertheless, the original compositions of the Rokuhara battle illustrations are retained more faithfully in these fans than in the Metropolitan screen.

⁸¹ Murase, "Japanese Screen Paintings," figs. 13 and 14.

⁸² Suzuki Keizō (鈴木敬三), "Fūzoku kara mita Heiji Monogatari E-kotoba (風俗から見た平治物語繪詞)," (The Picture-Scroll of the Heijimonogatari Tale Considered with Reference to the History of Japanese Manners and Costumes), *Kokka*, 727 (October, 1952), pp. 309-316.

Ise Monogatari (伊勢物語)

Ise Monogatari, a tenth-century work, is considered as one of the most important classics of Japan. It is often attributed, although without certainty, to Ariwara Narihira (825-880) (在原業平), one of the

greatest poets of Japan.⁸³ The book consists of poems interspersed with connecting narrative vignettes or prose settings. The majority of poems, the nucleus of the book, are love poems, which were exchanged between the anonymous hero of the book and ladies from various classes of society. The gentleman is referred to simply as a "man" who "once" travelled to various parts of the country, indulging in amorous adventures with different ladies.

The illustrated versions of this tale were already popular in the eleventh century, as they are mentioned in the *Tale of Genji*.⁸⁴ Yet, no example of the illustrated *Ise Monogatari* made in the Heian period exists today, and only a few examples from the Kamakura period are known. Most of the extant Ise pictures from the Kamakura period, however, are ink drawings, and they include *sûtra* texts printed over the drawings, often marring their beauty and composition.⁸⁵ A scroll in the Kubo collection is the only example of Ise illustrations in polychrome from the Kamakura period, but it preserves merely a few scenes.⁸⁶ Lost portions of the Ise drawings and the Kubo

scroll can be reconstructed, since fortunately there are some copies from the Muromachi and later periods. Two Muromachi-period scrolls are known, and they are in the collection of the New York Public Library⁸⁷ and the Ono collection in Japan.⁸⁸ The best examples of the illustrated *Ise Monogatari* from the post-Kamakura period are printed books, published as a part of the Saga Books project. All these versions from the Kamakura and later periods belong to the same recension of the *Ise Monogatari*, commonly known as the Teika-bon (定家本). It is the most widely circulated edition of the *Ise Monogatari*, and it usually includes 125 episodes.

The Tokyo National Museum owns a late Edo-period copy of the Ise scrolls, which were once reported in the *Kôko Gafu*.⁸⁹ The original version of this copy, which is thought to date from the Kamakura period,⁹⁰ is sometimes reported to be in a private collection,⁹¹ but its whereabouts has not been ascertained. This copy is executed in light colors, and it consists of three scrolls, containing twenty-four sections of the text and pictures. According to colophons written at the end of the second

⁸³ Helen Craig McCullough, *Ise Monogatari; Lyric Episodes from Tenth-century Japan* (Stanford, 1968).

⁸⁴ In the E-awase chapter (the Picture Competition). See Arthur Waley, tr., *The Tale of Genji* (New York, 1960), p. 336.

⁸⁵ Itoh Toshiko (伊藤敏子), "Hakubyô Ise Monogatari Emaki ni tsuite (白描伊勢物語繪卷について)," (Study on the Monochrome Picture Scrolls of the Ise-Monogatari), *Yamato Bunka*, 53 (November, 1970), pp. 35-58.

⁸⁶ Shirahata Yoshi (白畑よし), *Ise Monogatari Emaki* (伊勢物語繪卷), *Nihon Emaki-mono Zenshû*, vol. 17 (Tokyo, 1965). Her identification of individual scenes have been modified by Itoh ("Hakubyô"); Shimbo Tôru (眞保亨), "Ise Monogatari Emaki ni tsuite (伊勢物語繪卷について)," (On the Illustrated Scrolls of Ise Monogatari), *Museum*, 241 (April, 1971), pp. 12-24; and Tamura Etsuko (田村悦子), "Hara-ke Kyûzô Ise Monogatari Emaki no Etoki

narabi ni Kotoba-gaki to sono Shita-e ni kansuru Shiken (原家舊藏伊勢物語繪卷の繪解並びに詞書とその下繪に關する私見)," (Explanations of the Pictures of the Tales of Ise Scroll Formerly in Mr. Hara's Collection), *The Bijutsu Kenkyû*, 273 (January, 1971), pp. 1-25.

⁸⁷ In the Spencer Collection. See Sorimachi Shigeo (反町茂雄), *Nihon E-iri-bon oyobi Ehon Mokuroku* (日本繪入本及び繪本目錄) (Catalogue of Japanese Illustrated Books and Manuscripts in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library) (Tokyo, 1968); Shimpô, "Ise Monogatari Emaki."

⁸⁸ Itoh, "Hakubyô Ise Monogatari Emaki."

⁸⁹ Kurokawa, *Zôho Kôko Gafu*, vol. 1, pp. 44-45.

⁹⁰ Itoh, "Hakubyô Ise Monogatari Emaki," p. 56.

⁹¹ Katagiri Yôichi (片桐洋一), "Ihon Ise Monogatari Emaki ni tsuite (異本伊勢物語繪卷について)," *Kokugo Kokubun*, 299 (July, 1959), p. 345.

scroll, this copy was made in 1838 by Kanō Osanobu, the artist who copied the Hōgen screens some thirty years earlier. In making the copy of the Ise scrolls, Osanobu was assisted by six other artists.

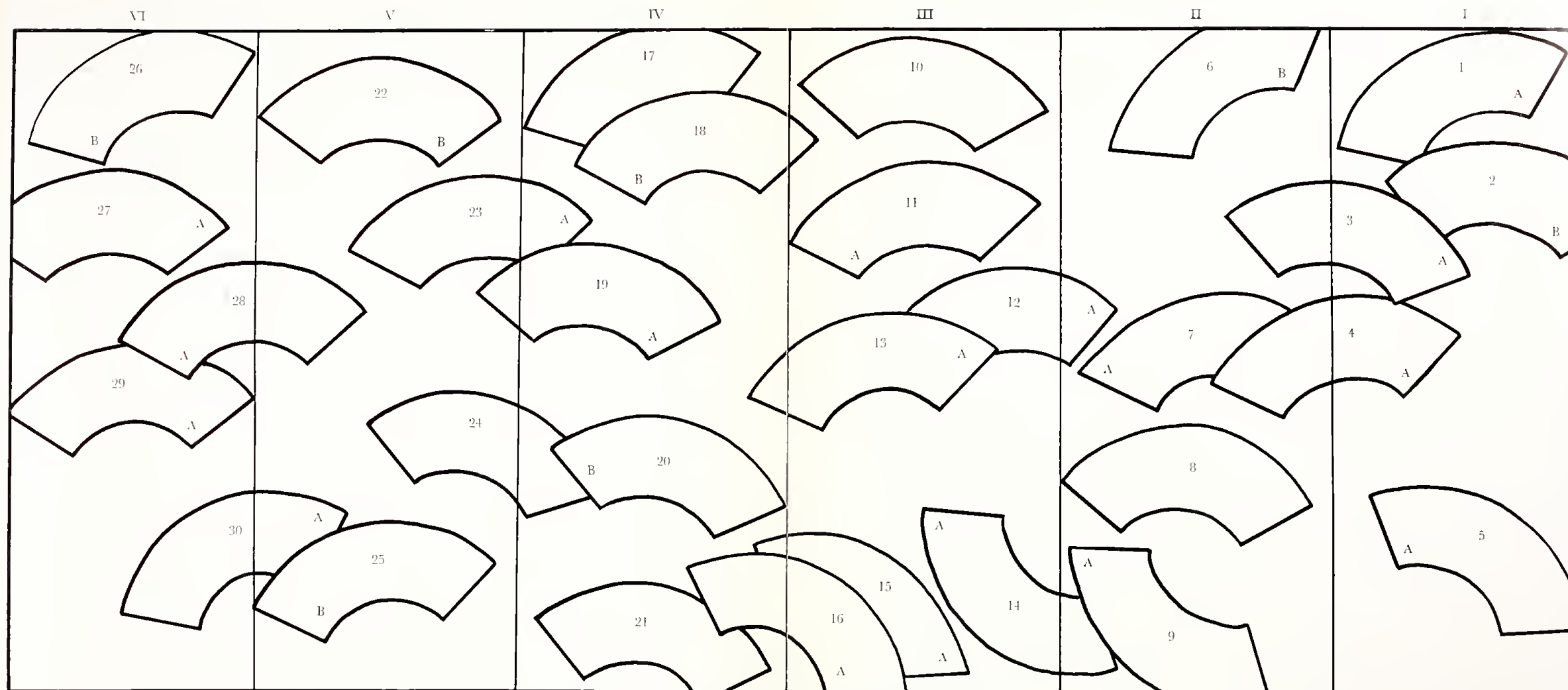
The original scroll of this copy had been examined by several notable artists whose colophons are copied faithfully in this copy. Among these colophons is one by Karasumaru Mitsuhiro, who attributed the calligraphy of the text to Sesonji Yukimasa (d. 1350) (世尊寺行尹). Mitsuhiro wrote this colophon in 1636, two years before his death. In another colophon, a certain Lord Wakizaka of the Awaji province stated that he examined the scroll in the company of Hayashi Dōshun (d. 1657) (林道春) and the latter's son. Dōshun, a noted Confucian scholar, is quoted as having said that the text in this *emaki* was considerably different from that in the Teika-bon version and that it belonged to a rare recension of the Ise text, Koreyuki-bon (伊行本). This type of *Ise Monogatari* is commonly known as the Kari-no-tsukai-bon (Imperial Huntsman Version) (狩使本), and it includes only twenty-four episodes.⁹² Its text is, moreover, much less sophisticated than the Teika-bon text, and it is generally believed to be older than the latter. The Edo-period copy in the Tokyo National Museum belongs to this older and rare set of Ise scrolls and its twenty-four episodes are accompanied by twenty-four illuminations. The compositions in this copy are very different from those in other Ise illustrations belonging to the Teika-bon group. It is certain, then, that at least two different groups of Ise illustrations were made during the Kamakura period.

There are many illustrations of the *Ise Monogatari* which are associated with Sōtatsu's name. The most famous among them is a pair of screens, known as the Tsuta-no-hosomichi, which has Mitsuhiro's colophon. Another pair of screens in the Freer Gallery, depicting pines and waves, is sometimes thought to illustrate an episode from this book. Other Ise pictures associated with Sōtatsu and his workshop are classed into two groups: paintings on album leaves; and paintings on fans. At least forty-six album leaves of the *Ise Monogatari* are known today. They are all brilliantly painted, and with the exception of five, they have colophons or poems inscribed by various calligraphers. When, in the past, the paper-backing of several leaves was removed, models used for the colophons to be written in the final work were discovered, along with the names of calligraphers assigned to write the colophons.⁹³ Judging from the lives of these calligraphers, these album leaves seem to have been made in at least two different periods: once in 1637, and again during the period from 1648 until 1651. Since the leaves have not all been examined, it is still premature to draw a final conclusion. At any rate, even were we willing to attribute some earlier ones to Sōtatsu himself, they belong to the last phase of his career, only a few years before his death.

As previously discussed, historical circumstances make it likely that Sōtatsu participated in creating the *Ise Monogatari* for the Saga Books in 1608. Perhaps the Ise pictures on album leaves and fans show a reliance on compositions found in the Saga-bon pictures. Indeed, there are some album leaves with scenes resembling those in the

⁹² McCullough, *Lyrical Episodes*, pp. 63–64.

⁹³ Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, p. 226.



TEXT FIG.—Diagram showing the position of fans and seals in *Figure 1*.



FIG. 1.—SCREEN WITH FANS. Freer Gallery of Art, 00.24.

00.24



FIG. 2.—THE HŌGEN SCREEN, LEFT SCREEN, PANEL VI.
Copy by Kanō Osanobu, Tokyo National Museum.



FIG. 3.—THE HŌGEN SCREEN, RIGHT SCREEN, PANEL III.
Copy by Kanō Osanobu, Tokyo National Museum.

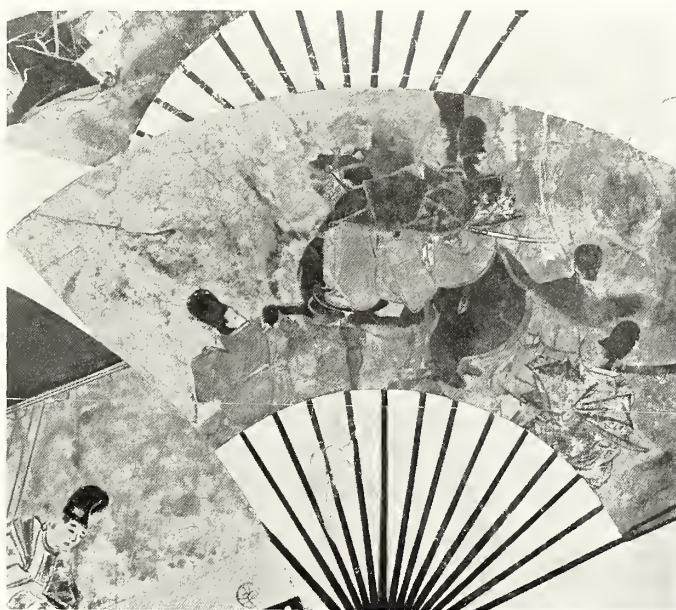


FIG. 4.—FAN NO. 2, HŌGEN MONOGATARI. Freer Gallery of Art.

00.24



FIG. 5.—THE HŌGEN SCREEN, LEFT SCREEN, PANEL II.
Copy by Kanō Osanobu, Tokyo National Museum.

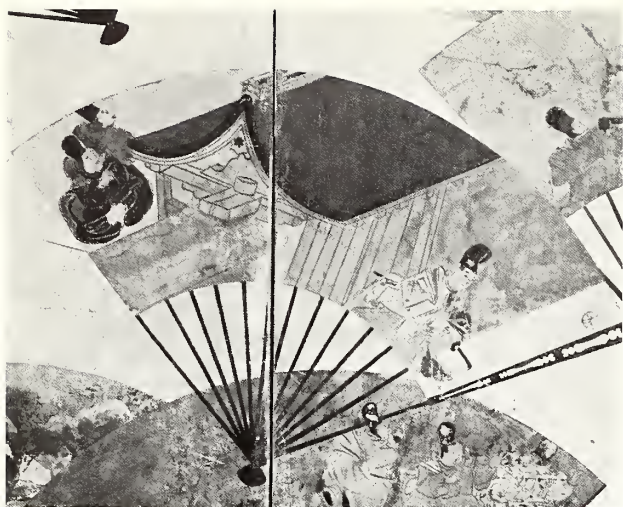


FIG. 6.—FAN NO. 3, HŌGEN MONOGATARI. 00.24
Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 7.—THE HŌGEN SCREEN, LEFT SCREEN, PANEL I.
Copy by Kanō Osanobu, Tokyo National Museum.

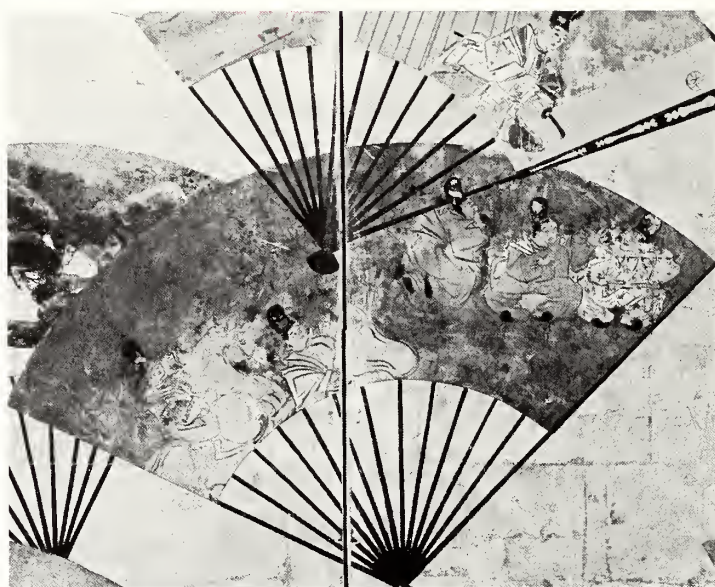


FIG. 8.—FAN NO. 4, HŌGEN MONOGATARI. Freer Gallery of Art.
00.24



FIG. 9.—THE HŌGEN SCREEN, RIGHT SCREEN, PANEL III.
Copy by Kanō Osanobu, Tokyo National Museum.

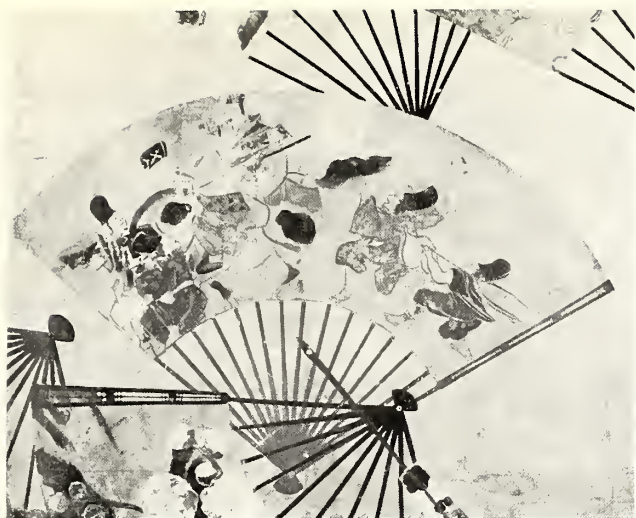


FIG. 10.—FAN NO. 8, HŌGEN MONOGATARI.
Freer Gallery of Art.

00.24



FIG. 11.—THE HŌGEN SCREEN, LEFT SCREEN, PANEL IV.
Copy by Kanō Osanobu, Tokyo National Museum.



FIG. 12.—FAN NO. 20, HŌGEN MONOGATARI.
Freer Gallery of Art.

00.24



FIG. 13.—THE HŌGEN SCREEN, RIGHT SCREEN, PANEL I.
Copy by Kanō Osanobu, Tokyo National Museum.



FIG. 14.—FAN NO. 21, HÖGEN MONOGATARI. Freer Gallery of Art.
00.24



FIG. 15.—FAN NO. 27, HÖGEN MONOGATARI. Freer Gallery of Art.
00.24



FIG. 16.—FAN NO. 6. Freer Gallery of Art.
00.24



FIG. 17.—FAN NO. 18, HEIJI MONOGATARI. Freer Gallery of Art.
00.24



FIG. 18.—THE ROKUHARA BATTLE SCROLL.
Copy by Kanō Yōseki and Hirota Kotarō,
Tokyo National Museum.



FIG. 19.—FAN NO. 22, HEIJI MONOGATARI. Freer Gallery of Art.
00.24

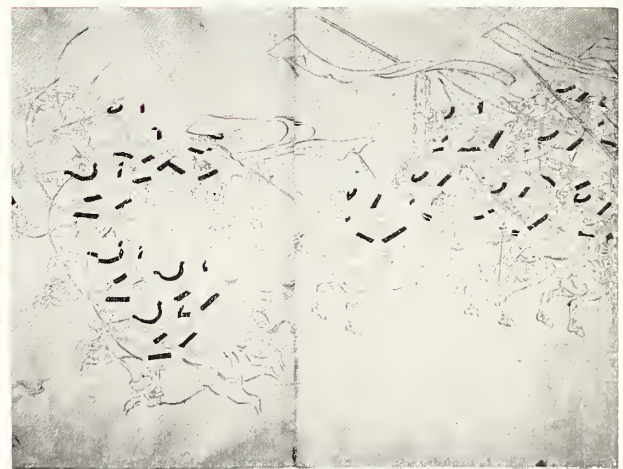


FIG. 20.—THE ROKUHARA BATTLE SCROLL.
Copy by Kanō Yōseki and Hirota Kotarō,
Tokyo National Museum.



FIG. 21.—FAN NO. 25, HEIJI MONOGATARI. Freer Gallery of Art.

06.24



FIG. 22.—THE ROKUHARA BATTLE SCROLL. Copy by Kanō Yōseki and Hirota Kotarō, Tokyo National Museum.



FIG. 23.—THE ISE MONOGATARI SCROLL, SCROLL III. Copy by Kanō Osanobu, *et al.*, Tokyo National Museum.

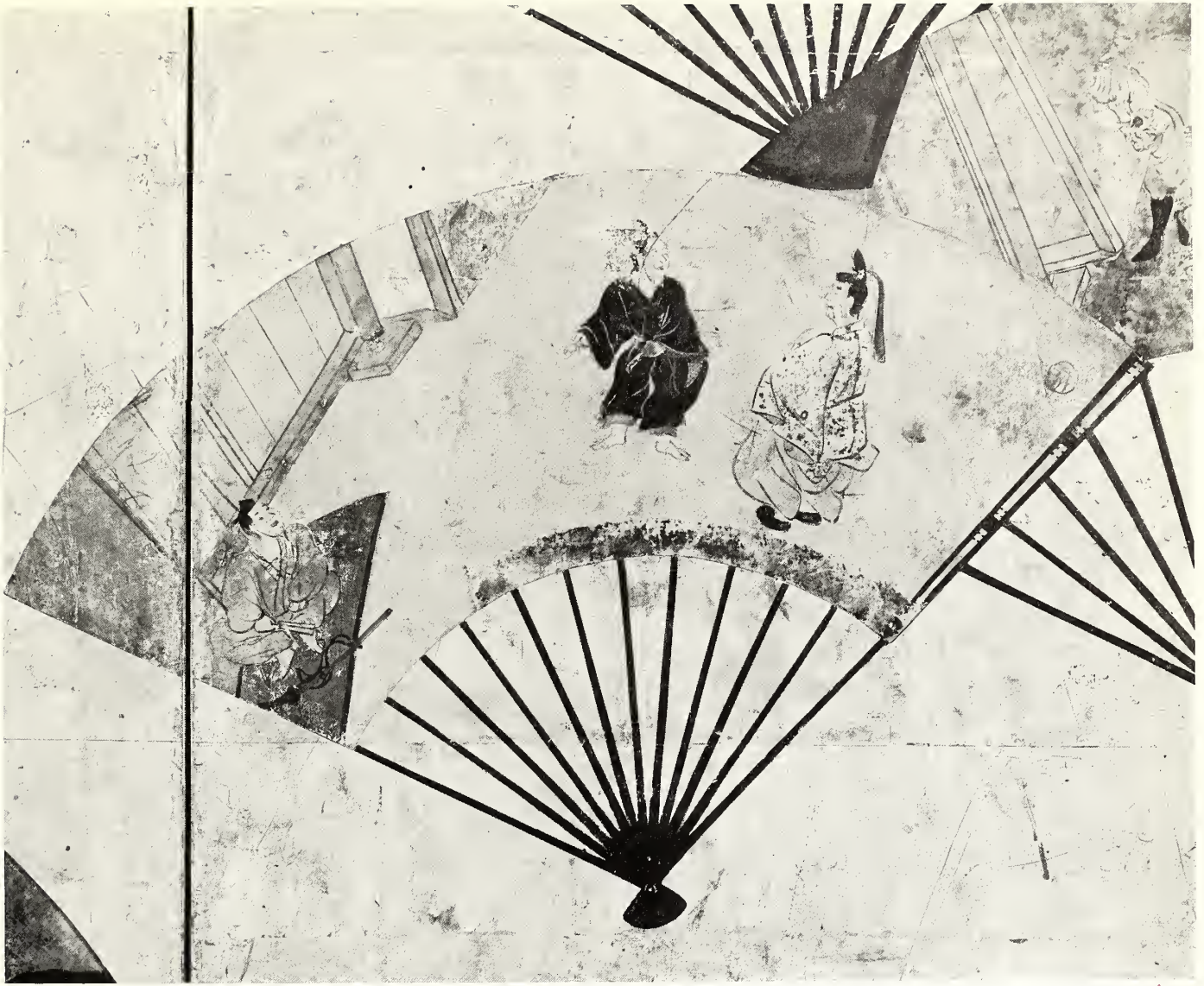


FIG. 24.—FAN NO. 13, ISE MONOGATARI. Freer Gallery of Art.

00.24



FIG. 25.—THE ISE MONOGATARI SCROLL, SCROLL 1.
Copy by Kanō Osanobu, *et al.*, Tokyo National Museum.



FIG. 26.—FAN NO. 28, ISE MONOGATARI. Freer Gallery of Art.

00.24



FIG. 27.—THE ISE MONOGATARI SCROLL, SCROLL III. Copy by Kanō Osanobu, *et al.*, Tokyo National Museum.

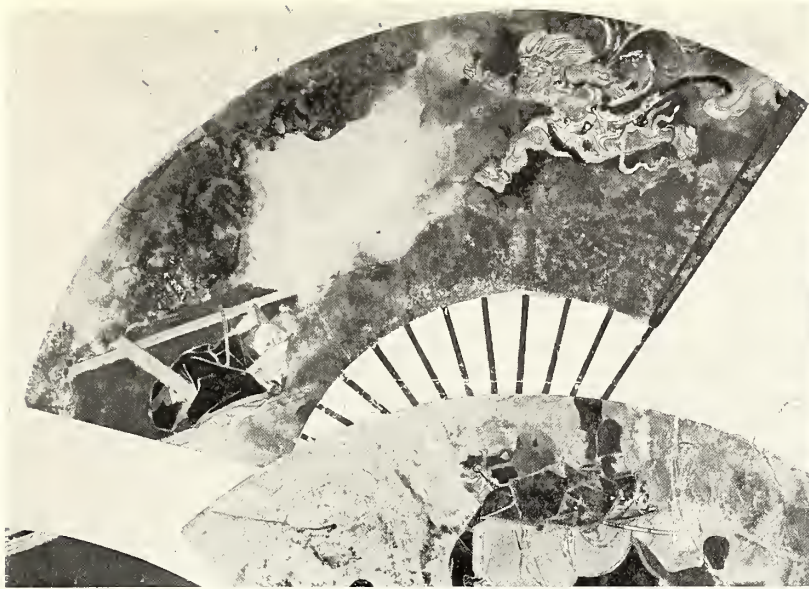


FIG. 28.—FAN NO. 1, TENJIN ENGI. Freer Gallery of Art.

00.24

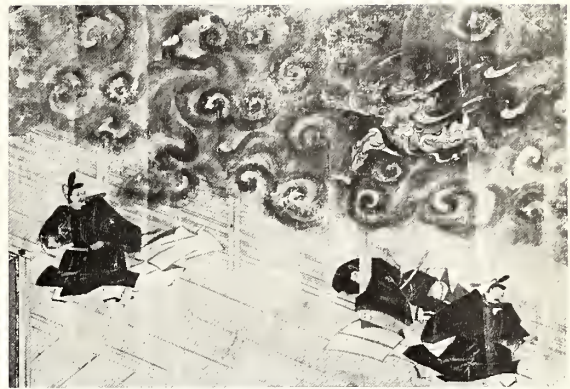


FIG. 29.—THE TENJIN ENGI SCROLL,
SCROLL III. Imperial Household.



FIG. 30.—FAN NO. 11, TENJIN ENGI. Freer Gallery of Art.

00.24



FIG. 31.—THE TENJIN ENGI SCROLL,
SCROLL III. Imperial Household.

Saga Book illustrations. One in the Minneapolis Institute of Art, for example, depicts the Nunobiki Falls.⁹⁴ Its composition is very close to one in the Saga Book, and it seems that Sôtatsu or his studio used as a model the Saga-bon illustrations. However, this is one of the rare exceptions. Yamane, who examined almost all the extant Ise album leaves felt that only a few, in fact, three or four of the album leaves associated with Sôtatsu's name, suggest a possible reliance on compositions once used in the Saga Book illustrations.⁹⁵ On the other hand, a few album leaves reveal the artist's familiarity with compositions included in the Kari-no-tsukai-bon illustrations of this story. This is not surprising, since there is a possibility that Sôtatsu studied and relied on the original scroll later copied by Osanobu when in 1636 his friend Mitsuhiro examined it and wrote a colophon.

Fans depicting scenes from the *Ise Monogatari* are all based on a model belonging to the Kari-no-tsukai-bon version. The composition of each individual scene on a fan closely resembles Osanobu's copy. In Osanobu's scroll, furthermore, there is a scene in which two courtiers on horseback meet as they journey in opposite directions (fig. 23). This is an illustration which tells about a gentleman who, during his journey to the east, missed his friends terribly and wrote them letters urging them not to forget him.⁹⁶ This episode is never included in any illustrations of the Teika-bon texts. This is particularly interesting because the Teika-bon

recension includes a far greater cycle of illuminations than the Kari-no-tsukai-bon version. Two fans, in the Hara⁹⁷ and Sambôin⁹⁸ collections, represent this scene. Furthermore, the compositions of these fans are almost identical to Osanobu's rendition. It is quite clear, then, that the fan paintings of the *Ise Monogatari*, which are associated with Sôtatsu and his atelier, were derived from a version of the Ise scrolls belonging to the Kari-no-tsukai-bon family.

As it has already been suggested, there is a strong possibility that Sôtatsu had a chance to study and copy the Kamakura-period scroll copied by Osanobu. If, indeed, Sôtatsu saw the scroll at the time when Mitsuhiro examined it in 1636, the Ise pictures on fans which are derived from the compositions found in this scroll may be dated after that year. This brings the date of these fans very close to Sôtatsu's death.

Two fans on the Freer Gallery screen illustrate episodes from the *Ise Monogatari*, nos. 13 and 28.

Fan No. 13—Seal A (fig. 24)

On this fan, a nobleman is represented at the right. A man directs his attention to another, who is seated in front of a gate building. This composition is derived from a scene illustrating a rather amusing episode.⁹⁹ In order to meet his lover, a man used to sneak through a hole in the earthen wall made by children playing hide-and-seek. The man of the house was irked, and

⁹⁴ McCullough, *Lyrical Episodes*, pp. 130–31; Harold P. Stern, *Rimpa—Masterworks of the Japanese Decorative School* (New York, 1971), pl. 11.

⁹⁵ Yamane, *Sôtatsu*, p. 226.

⁹⁶ McCullough, *Lyrical Episodes*, pp. 77–78.

⁹⁷ Mizuo Hiroshi (水尾比呂志), *Sôtatsu Kôrin Ha Semmen Gashû* (宗達光琳派扇面畫集) (Kyoto, 1966), vol. 2, pl. 54.

⁹⁸ Chizawa Teiji, *Sôtatsu, Nihon no Bijutsu*, (日本の美術), ed. National Museums of Tokyo, Kyoto and Nara, vol. 31 (Tokyo, 1968), fig. 91, middle fan.

⁹⁹ McCullough, *Lyrical Episodes*, p. 72.

he placed two night guards in front of the hole (*fig. 25*). In the Freer picture, a partially crumbled earthen wall, on which children stand, is replaced by a more substantial building, and the three retainers shown in the Edo copy are eliminated altogether. The same scene, without much alteration, is depicted on the Hara fan.¹⁰⁰

Fan No. 28—Seal A (fig. 26)

On this fan, a single figure of a man and an ox-drawn carriage are depicted. The man has just arrived at a house, and he knocks at the gate. The same figure, also followed by an ox-drawn carriage, is found in the Edo copy (*fig. 27*). This is an illustration of a pathetic story, somewhat reminiscent of the experience of Enoch Arden.¹⁰¹ A husband went on a business trip leaving his wife behind. He was not heard from for three years; in the meantime, the woman had a persistent suitor. Finally she succumbed to his plea to marry her. On the eve of their wedding, however, the first husband finally came home. In the Edo copy, the first husband awaits in the carriage for an answer to the knock of his retainer. Inside the gate, to our right, the horrified wife stands transfixed at the veranda, as the new husband peeks from behind the curtain. Following this scene, the tragic end of the episode occurs, when the wife runs after the departing husband but is unable to catch up with him; she writes a pathetic poem of grief and apology on a rock and dies.

Both Ise pictures are altered extensively from the original compositions. In fan no. 13, an essential detail such as the earthen wall was changed; children were elimi-

nated. The figure of the first husband was also omitted from fan no. 28. These modifications have made the Freer illustrations of the *Ise Monogatari* quite unintelligible, and they suggest that the artist of these fan paintings was not the same painter who painted Ise pictures on the Hara screens. The painter of the Hara fans adhered to the model more closely, and his compositions and their pictorial sources are today readily recognizable. The Freer and Hara fans, furthermore, show distinctly different stylistic traits. The figures in the Hara paintings are larger, and the brushstrokes are less powerful than those in the Freer fans.

Kitano Tenjin Engi (北野天神縁起)

The *Kitano Tenjin Engi*, or *Tenjin Engi*, is the legend of the heavenly deity, the Tenjin.¹⁰² It is a half-historical, half-legendary story of the statesman and scholar, Sugawara Michizane (845–903) (菅原道真), who was canonized as the Tenjin after his death. The story of Michizane, as told in the *Tenjin Engi*, may be divided into three sections. The first part concerns Michizane's biography beginning with his birth, through his phenomenal rise in fame and rank, and his final decline and exile at the hands of jealous rivals. The second part concerns the legendary stories about the angry spirit of the deceased Michizane, avenging the wrongdoings of his enemies, including the Emperor. The last section of the tale is about the origin and the development of Kitano Shrine which was built first to pacify Michizane's angry spirit but then

¹⁰⁰ Yamane, *Sōtatsu*, p. 78.

¹⁰¹ McCullough, *Lyrical Episodes*, pp. 89–90.

¹⁰² Miyeko Murase, "The Tenjin Engi Scrolls—A Study of Their Genealogical Relationship," (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Art History and Archaeology, Columbia University, 1962).

developed quickly to a popular shrine dedicated to the god who punished evil doers and protected the wronged.

The text of the Tenjin narratives was first organized in the late twelfth century, and shortly after, its illustrated version seems to have been created. The illustrated *Tenjin Engi* became Japan's most frequently copied *emaki*, and there exist today more than thirty known versions of painted handscrolls of this story, spanning a long period of time from the early Kamakura through the Edo periods.

It is a commonly accepted and a useful practice to classify these versions of the illustrated Tenjin Engi scrolls into three major groups: (1) the Shōkyū (承久本); (2) the Kōan (弘安本); and (3) the Tsuda (津田本) recensions. This classification is made on the basis of the outstanding differences found among several versions of the texts, but it is also applicable as a means of classifying their illuminations.

Sôtatsu borrowed figures from *Tenjin Engi* illustrations in many different compositions of his own and used them out of their original context. Two celestial demons, creators of wind and thunder, painted on the celebrated screens in Kenninji, were inspired by the demons in this *emaki*. Such ordinary motifs as oxen in this *emaki* were re-used as motifs for a pair of magnificent ink paintings in Chōmyōji. One of the oxen from the same *emaki* was turned around to face the opposite direction on the Metropolitan Museum's screens depicting an episode from the *Heike Monogatari* (平家物語).¹⁰³ It is represented in the original form in the Miotsukushi screen in the Seikadō Foundation, wherein at least ten figures

were taken from the same *emaki* and used in combination with other figures. Some figures from this scroll were again used on the screen of the Sekiya chapter from the *Genji Monogatari* in the Hinohara collection, but they were combined in different ways with other figures.

Although *Tenjin Engi* pictures provided Sôtatsu with many motifs that he used on hanging scrolls and screens, they are not found frequently on the fans attributed to him or his workshop. The Sambōin screens include no Tenjin scene. With the exception of the demon, painted to illustrate a scene from the *Ise Monogatari*, the Imperial screens do not have any other fans depicting this story. There is not a single *Tenjin Engi* painting among the two groups of fans which were recently discovered. There is only one fan in the Hara collection which illustrates an episode from this story, and this is almost identical to the one in the Freer collection.

The model for Sôtatsu's figures and compositions derived from *Tenjin Engi* illustrations may be found among scrolls which belong to the Kōan recension. This family of *Tenjin Engi* scrolls is perhaps the most popular version, and from it the largest number of copies were made, amounting to more than a dozen sets of scrolls. In spite of its great popularity, the illustrations and texts in this group of scrolls contain fewer variations and corruptions of their models than those found in the other two groups. Because of these characteristics, it is very difficult to pinpoint the particular scrolls which Sôtatsu might have seen and copied. The oldest scroll in this group dates from the late thirteenth century, and it is preserved in a few fragmentary sections, the largest sections being divided between the

¹⁰³ Miyeko Murase, *Byōbu—Japanese Screens from New York Collections* (New York, 1971), p. 25.

Kitano Jinja in Kyoto and the Tokyo National Museum. Although the Tokyo fragment retains the section where the thunder god attacks his enemy, similar to the one illustrated in *figure 29*, all other Tenjin scenes which appear in Sōtatsu's paintings have been lost from this scroll. Two scrolls from this group retain all the scenes which were adopted in Sōtatsu's works. The set in the Imperial collection dates from the late Muromachi period. Another in the Kitano Shrine is even later, and it was painted by Tosa Mitsuoki (1617–19) (土佐光起). Of the two, the set in the Imperial collection reveals the greatest similarity to Sōtatsu's compositions. Therefore, illustrations in this scroll will be used for comparison with the Freer fans in this study.

Fan No. 1—Seal A (fig. 28)

This painting represents the scene where angry and vengeful Michizane, now transformed into the thunder god, attacked the Imperial palace, where his rivals were gathered, and killed everyone of them systematically (*fig. 29*). One courtier wraps his arms around a pillar as he is struck by the lightning created by the man he wronged. The Wind God painted on the Kenninji screen was also derived from this scene.

Fan No. 11—Seal A (fig. 30)

This painting is based on the scene of the flood caused by vengeful Michizane, in order to prevent a monk from rushing to the Emperor's aid (*fig. 31*). The flood water in the original composition is completely eliminated; in its place, trees and a decorative sand formation are introduced. In the scroll in the Imperial collection, a herd-boy is depicted as running alongside the ox. On this fan, he is moved from this position

to the rear of the carriage, and as a result, the ox seems to run away from two men. The man in white dress who runs alongside of the carriage is not found in any scene of the *Tenjin Engi* scrolls, yet he is shown again in almost identical manner on the Hara fan.¹⁰⁴

Out of the thirty fans pasted on the Freer screen, fourteen compositions are traceable to paintings dating long before Sōtatsu's time: seven of these were borrowed from the Hōgen pictures; three from the Heiji illustrations; two from the Ise Monogatari and Tenjin Engi scrolls, respectively. Ten fans are decorated with nature designs. The subjects of the remaining six fans, nos. 6, 10, 12, 16, 19 and 26, are not identified at the moment. There is a chance, however, that eventually they will also be traced to compositions from paintings prior to Sōtatsu's time.

Three fans with narrative scenes, nos. 8, 10 and 21, have no seals. Fan no. 8, which illustrates injured Yorinaga and his entourage (*fig. 10*), is stylistically similar to the paintings bearing Seal B. Figures in this fan are tall, and they have small heads and sinuous bodies. Their gestures and poses clearly define the flow of movement from right to left. These are some of the outstanding features which characterize the fans bearing Seal B. Fan no. 10, whose subject is not yet identified, is also related stylistically to the fans with Seal B, especially fan no. 26. An illusion of a monumental painting is often created by these fans, in spite of their small size and peculiar shape. This effect is achieved primarily by the asymmetrical arrangements of the figures, with bold contrasts between the void and

¹⁰⁴ Mizuo, *Sōtatsu Kōrin*, pl. 83.

the filled space. It is hoped that more fan paintings which share these characteristics will be discovered in the near future.

No seal is found on fan no. 21 (*fig. 14*), but its painting is stylistically linked to the fans bearing Seal A, especially fans nos. 3 and 4. Compositions on this group of fans with Seal A often lack structural unity; figures are small, and brushstrokes are weak. Nevertheless, it is among these fans with Seal A that we find the most diversified subjects. All the *Ise* and *Tenjin Engi* pictures belong to this group. All the fans which represent nature designs, excepting two, have this seal. Furthermore, quite daring changes of the models were often made on these fans: new architectural elements were introduced; and principal figures were sometimes eliminated completely. Most of the fans with Seal A share these characteristics, which may be considered as personal idiosyncrasies of a single artist. Unfortunately, however, these features are not shared by the fans in Japanese collections which also have this seal. Therefore, it seems still premature to attribute all the paintings bearing this seal to any single artist. It is also difficult to find any convincing stylistic kinship between this group of paintings and Sôtatsu's accepted oeuvre.

Since many compositions on fans are duplicated, we must assume that a repertory of pictorial elements was kept at Sôtatsu's studio, and it was made available to the artists working there. It is also possible that, once a composition proved successful, it

was copied repeatedly, not only by his assistants but even by the master himself. We must also assume that, considering the popularity of his school, its products were copied by much later followers of the school. Our future task is to separate those later copies from the paintings which were produced by Sôtatsu's associates who were his contemporaries.

Another crucial question which still remains unsolved concerns the chronological development of Sôtatsu's narrative paintings, especially the early phase. All the monumental paintings of narrative subjects painted by Sôtatsu belong to the last phase of his career. All of them are screen paintings, and they either have his signatures accompanied by the title *Hokkyô* or they contain figures borrowed from the Saigyô scrolls. The only exception to this is a pair of screens in Kenninji, representing the Wind and Thunder Gods, which have neither Sôtatsu's signature nor are the figures taken from the Saigyô scrolls. It is not known when Sôtatsu saw the *Tenjin Engi* scrolls, which inspired him to paint these magnificent Kenninji screens of supernatural creatures. However, all evidence suggests that it was also in the latter part of Sôtatsu's life. Even were we to accept some of the fan paintings with narrative themes as Sôtatsu's own works, they would also belong to this late period. As for the earlier phase of Sôtatsu's narrative genre, we may have to turn our attention to the paintings which have hitherto been overlooked and treated as not by this master.

EXAMINATION OF ART OBJECTS IN THE FREER GALLERY LABORATORY

BY W. T. CHASE*

ART HISTORIANS AND ART CONSERVATORS both deal with art objects; the conservator in his laboratory meets objects on a physical basis. He sees objects as material things; his first question is usually, "What is it made of?" This article is intended to describe how questions of this sort and others are answered in the Technical Laboratory of the Freer Gallery of Art. If it also shows the art historian the utility of technical examination and the extra dimensions technical examination can give his work, so much the better. Too often the curator or art historian may be put off by our reliance on numbers and statistics, our expensive instrumentation, and our scientific jargon; but the material attributes of a work of art, if correctly described, can add greatly to our appreciation of the totality of the object in its material, aesthetic and historical aspects. For a full appreciation of the object, art historian and conservator should both be involved in its study.

What is an art object or a work of art? Without getting bogged down in semantics or definitions of "what is art" let us say that an art object is a beautiful object made by man. An art object is distinguished from a historical or archaeological artifact on the basis of its artistic quality, and usually has been preserved and passed on to us because of this quality. Almost incidentally, these objects contain information about the materials and technology used by the men who

made them. Sometimes the objects may also contain information on past ownership, burial conditions, previous restoration treatments, etc. In fact, an object contains information about previous history just as written sources do, and it may be more accurate. For example, some of the information in Vitruvius has been proven to be erroneous by examination of art objects;¹ this points up the importance of reading the information in the objects correctly.

The ancient bronze founder has passed his formula on to us in the composition of the bronze he has made just as surely as if he had handed it to us on a piece of paper. The formula in the bronze may be more difficult to read, but the information is there, as is information on the temperature of casting, the cooling rate, working after casting, etc. Cyril Smith has expressed this well:

There is a microhistory recorded in the internal structure of a metal or ceramic artifact that vies in interest with the history deducible from its external form. And it is *human* history, reflecting man's skills and knowledge. The structural details of a sequence of objects—if properly read—reflect man's growing knowledge and control of the world about him, as

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¹ See Rutherford J. Gettens, Robert L. Feller, and W. T. Chase, "Vermilion and Cinnabar," *Studies in Conservation*, vol. 17 (1972), p. 47; also S. M. Alexander, "Towards a History of Art Materials—A survey of published technical literature in the arts: Part I; from Antiquity to 1599," *Art and Archaeology Technical Abstracts*, vol. 7 (1969), no. 3, p. 123 ff.

definitely as do the words of past philosophers.²

What kinds of information are contained in art objects? There is, first, the material of which the object is made. What is it really made of? Where did the material come from? Sometimes geological or botanic origins can be established. How was it worked? Tool marks, surface finish, X-ray radiographs, the microstructure, and careful measurements of surface configuration and thicknesses can all help to answer these questions. Of course, the object also carries information in its shape and decoration.

Questions relating to material and fabrication are among those which can be answered in the technical laboratory. Questions relating to fabrication, shape and decoration, and historical relationships are those addressed by the art historian. To get the total picture, or to extract the maximum information from the object, both the conservator and the art historian must be involved.

Why do we want to get the maximum information out of the objects? The basic reason seems to be just that we want to know as much as possible about the object and through it the cultural milieu from which it came. Specifically we want to be able to date or place the object geographically and chronologically. This includes, of course, discerning if it is a fake or imitation or if it is indeed what it purports to be. We want to know how it is made so that we can correctly place it in the history of technology; the data may help us to know this history with greater accuracy and help us to

realize what the people who produced this object were capable of. We want to date the object as closely as possible so that we can study the stylistic progression of which it is a part. The material may also form part of its economic or commercial history. At the end, we want to be able to draw historically (or art-historically) meaningful conclusions.

Let us look at a few examples of laboratory findings on particular objects and see how they have complemented the work of the art historian. The first object is a Japanese standing wooden statue (FGA 09.343; *fig. 1*) about 31 inches high and 9 inches across the shoulders. This statue, acquired by Charles Freer in 1909, had long stood practically ignored in our storage. Various dates had been advanced for the statue, ranging from the Suiko to the Kamakura period (ca. A.D. 550–1300). In 1960 Dr. Harold P. Stern, then Assistant Director, requested that the laboratory obtain a Carbon-14 date for the sculpture. A sample was taken by drilling unobtrusively into the base; $8\frac{1}{2}$ grams were taken and the sample was sent to a consulting laboratory. The laboratory determined the age of the wood to be A.D. 510 ± 90 years. This was earlier than anyone had expected and indicated that the statue probably dated from the Suiko period. The results of the Carbon-14 dating generated more interest in the statue, and it was subsequently radiographed (*fig. 2*), cleaned (*fig. 3*), and put on exhibition. A sample of the wood was also taken and sent to Dr. William L. Stern of the United States National Museum, who identified it as *Cryptomeria Japonica*, or Japanese temple cedar, a common wood in Japanese sculpture. So, this object was reinstated in its proper art historical place

² Cyril Stanley Smith, "The Interpretation of Microstructures of Metallic Artifacts," *Application of Science in Examination of Works of Art* (Boston, Mass., 1967).

as a result of careful technical investigation.

Carbon-14 dating worked so well in this case that when some questions were raised concerning the authenticity of a standing Chinese Ivory Buddha inscribed with a Sung date (FGA 57.25, *figs. 4 and 5*), we thought that C-14 dating might again be useful. Ivory, being an organic material, contains carbon and can, with care, be Carbon-14 dated. X-radiography revealed a number of modern steel screws inside the piece. The Buddha was easily dissembled (*fig. 5*) and a sample obtained from inside. This sample was sent to the same laboratory along with a sample from another ivory Buddha which has been in the collection since 1916 (FGA 16.159, *fig. 6*). The sample from the Buddha purchased in 1916 gave a date of 320 ± 90 years before present, or about A.D. 1640, i.e., from the late Ming or early Ch'ing period. But the sample from the other Buddha (57.25) produced a date of at least 32,000 years before present! The object must therefore have been made from fossil or mammoth ivory. We know that the Chinese did indeed use mammoth ivory;³ the Carbon-14 date does not help us in dating this figure at all and only places the burden of dating back on the shoulders of the art historian. The use of mammoth ivory does raise interesting questions about trade routes and connections with possible use of fossil ivory in Byzantium and Europe, but these must be left for another time.

Let us progress to another field of investigation: Chinese bronzes. The study of

two bronze belt-hooks exemplifies our approach⁴ (FGA 19.69 and 16.441, *figs. 7 and 8*).

The belt-hooks had been on exhibition for years; in 1965, during a project of cleaning the late Chou and Han metalwork on exhibition, they were examined and cleaned. Corrosion products were removed by delicate mechanical picking along with the use of a non-ionic detergent and sodium hexametaphosphate in distilled water, followed by a distilled water rinse. The objects seemed to respond to aqueous treatment more readily than the normal Chou or Han bronze does, but not enough to raise suspicion as to their authenticity. They were, however, taken to the U.S. Naval Ordnance Laboratory for X-radiography. The radiographs showed lead solder in two areas on each belt-hook; one was a join running diagonally across the back of each object, the other was a join running along the back. This indicated that each belt-hook had been constructed from three pieces laminated together; one piece contained the front, and the other two, the back and the button. As far as we know, soft solders were not used by the ancient Chinese at all, even though the constituent metals, lead and tin, were known to them.⁵ After some superficial cleaning of the side, the soft solder line could be seen and probed with a fine needle; it did feel like soft solder, which confirmed the radiographic indication. This prompted us to make a chemical analysis of the two objects. If they were indeed late pieces, they might contain zinc,

³ B. Laufer, *Ivory in China* (Chicago, 1925), p. 24-37. R. Lydekker, "Mammoth Ivory," *Smithsonian Annual Report*, 1898, p. 364. I. P. Tolmachoff, "The Carcasses of the Mammoth and Rhinoceros Found in the Frozen Ground of Siberia," *Trans. Am. Phil Soc.*, XXIII Part 1 (1929) pp. 11-14.

⁴ W. T. Chase, "Chinese Belt-hooks in the Freer Gallery of Art" (Master's Thesis, New York University, February, 1967), p. 178 ff.

⁵ R. J. Gettens, *The Freer Chinese Bronzes, Volume II, Technical Studies* (Washington, 1969), p. 86.

a rare if not unknown alloy constituent in genuine pre-Han bronzes.⁶ The analyses are shown in Table I, along with the analysis of a typical late Chou gilded belt-hook (FGA 16.443, *fig. 9*). In fact, the two belt-hooks in question do contain zinc, in appreciable quantities. On the basis of our previous experience with the alloys of ceremonial vessels we felt that it was extremely unlikely that these objects dated from the Chou or Han dynasty; they were probably archaistic pieces made during the Ming or Ch'ing period. In the five years since these belt-hooks were analyzed we have analyzed all the bronze belt-hooks in our collection, and of 150 belt-hooks only 10 contain any zinc at all; of these, one has over 30 per cent zinc and is clearly modern; the two mentioned above have between 1 per cent and 5 per cent zinc; and the other seven have zinc contents ranging from 0.1 to 0.74 per cent and may actually date from the Chou or Han dynasties. While the last word on zinc in China has not been written,⁷ we can now say that any belt-hook with more than 1 per cent zinc is probably a late piece.

TABLE I

Wet Chemical Analyses* of Belt-hooks

	16.441	19.69	16.443
Cu	71.9%	72.0%	96.8%
Sn	7.1	4.4	0.5
Pb	16.7	17.5	0.5
Zn	3.2	5.0	0.0
Total	98.9	98.9	97.8

* Method outlined in Gettens, *Freer Chinese Bronzes*, p. 33 ff; analyst, I. V. Bene.

⁶ Gettens, *Freer Chinese Bronzes*, pp. 43 and 44.

⁷ Noel Barnard, *Bronze Casting and Bronze Alloys in Ancient China* (Tokyo, 1961), p. 194.

H. T. Chang, "New Research on the Beginning of Using Zinc in China," *Geological Society of China*

During the course of our investigations we also noted that the composition of belt-hooks tends to fall into two ranges; one containing a great deal of copper and not much else (like 16.443 above), and the other an alloy of copper and lead, also including tin, like 19.69 and 16.441, but usually without any zinc. To determine whether these distinct ranges could be correlated with any other feature, we counted the number of gilded and non-gilded belt-hooks with high and low lead content using an arbitrary division point of 8 per cent lead. The results, shown in Table II, indicate clearly that gilded belt-hooks with high lead content are rare; in fact, most of these are archaistic pieces. Any gilded belt-hook with more than 8 per cent lead should be examined for authenticity very carefully indeed!

TABLE II

Gilded and non-gilded belt-hooks versus lead content. 150 Chinese bronze belt-hooks in the Freer collection were studied.

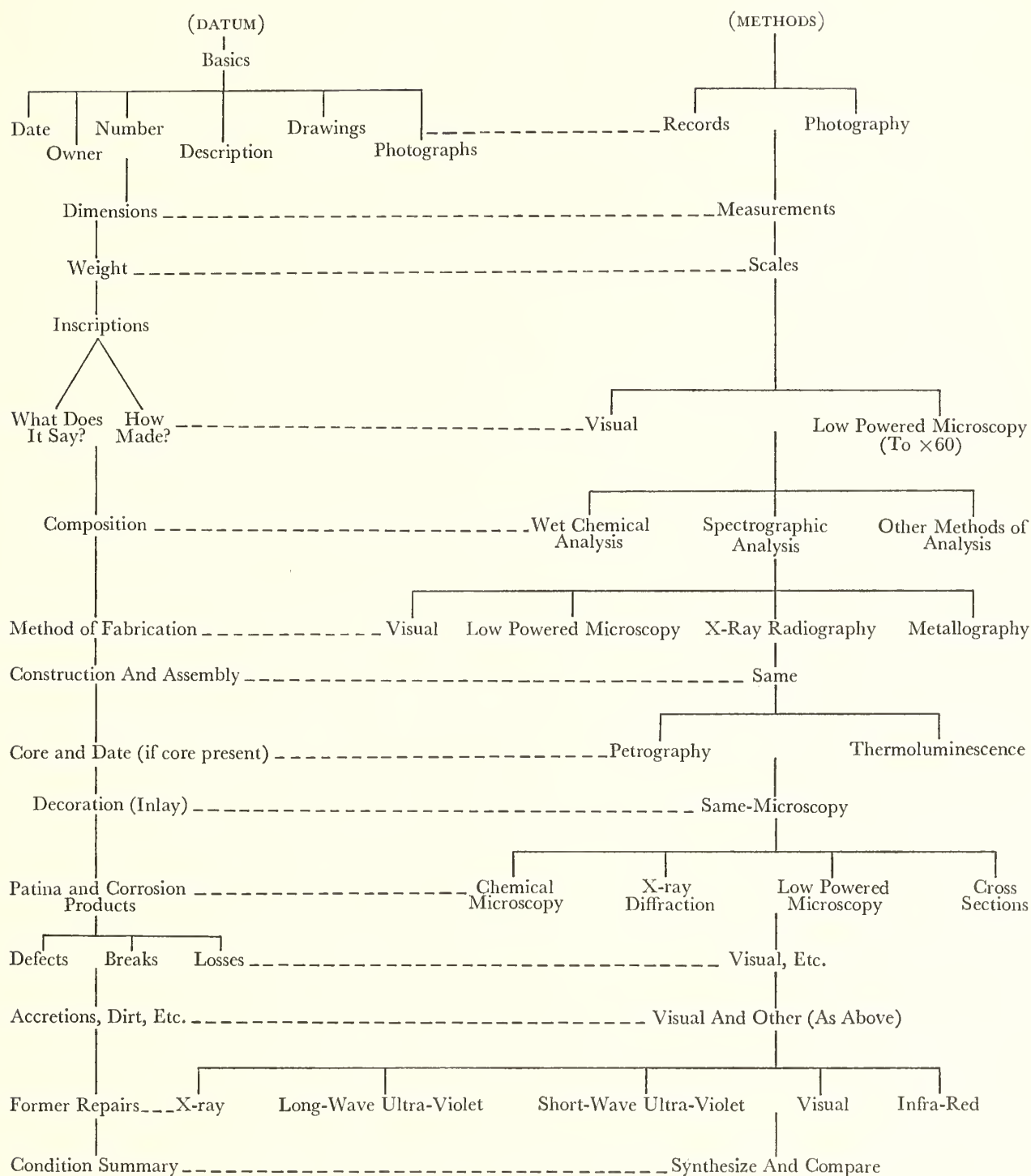
Lead Content	gilded	non-gilded
Less Than 8%	34	35
8% or Greater	6	75

Let us look at one more general problem to see the interaction of technical and art-historical studies; that of Chinese bronze ceremonial vessels. It appears that we have only begun to realize the complexity of studying Chinese bronze ceremonial vessels. Elsewhere I have listed fifty attributes of a particular Chinese vessel, simply as an exercise in showing the multidimensional nature of these objects.⁸ Of course, the

Bulletin (1925), vol. 4, no. 2, p. 127.

⁸ W. T. Chase, "Science in Art," *The McGraw-Hill Yearbook of Science and Technology*, 1971 (New York, 1972), pp. 10-23.

TABLE III
Examination of Bronzes
(Note: All Steps Recorded For Files)



number of characteristics to study is almost infinite, and the investigator concentrates on those characteristics which interest him or which have proved to be useful in previous studies.

For the past six years Kwang-chih Chang of Yale University has been engaged in a program of comprehensive research on inscribed bronzes of the Shang and Chou periods.⁹ In his computerized scheme of attribute analysis, 124 data fields (or attributes) are used, 36 of them concerning the inscription alone. The complexity of studying a Chinese bronze can also be seen from our general laboratory checklist for examining a bronze object (Table III). Needless to say, one needs days, if not weeks, to examine an object this thoroughly; but the data derived from such an examination are necessary if meaningful comparisons are to be drawn. In fact, some special studies requiring sophisticated equipment and comparison with other samples may take years; this is illustrated by our recent paper on two bronze weapons with meteoritic blades, which took ten years to complete.¹⁰ A great deal of instrumental analysis, wet chemistry and metallography was performed for this paper, and samples were circulated to and procured from countries all over the world.

In general, the technical study of Chinese bronzes has lagged behind art-historical research. The first catalogue of Chinese bronzes to include technical data on each object was our own catalogue published in

1967, which was also more than a decade in the making.¹¹ Since the publication of the earlier Freer bronze catalogue (1946), many interesting objects have come to light in China, and many of the objects excavated earlier have received adequate publication.¹² Regrettably, few of these objects have been studied technically in any detail. Of special interest are the discovery of a late Chou foundry site at Hou-ma, Shansi, where actual piece molds and models were found; the close study of mold marks and casting technique at the Academia Sinica, Nanking; and Noel Barnard's book on bronze casting, published in 1961, in which great stress is placed on sectional molding techniques in the manufacture of Chinese bronzes (see references in *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, vol. 2). Technical studies have been initiated on the bronzes in the Palace Museum, Taiwan,¹³ and it is hoped that the recent issue of *Kaogu* with an article on radiocarbon dating of archaeological materials in the People's Republic of China,¹⁴ heralds a resurgence of technical studies there. Due to historical accident, most of the Chinese bronzes in Western collections were acquired from dealers who paid little attention to problems of provenance. Con-

¹¹ John A. Pope, *et al.*, *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, vol. 1, Catalogue (Washington, 1967).

¹² For a good summary of recent developments in the study of Chinese bronzes see Alexander Soper's review of the *Freer Chinese Bronzes*, vol. I, in the *Art Bulletin* (March, 1971), pp. 105-110.

¹³ Yüan Jai, "Results of some Research Projects Carried Out at the Research Laboratory of the National Palace Museum," *National Palace Museum Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 5-7; Chang Shih-hsien, "Pioneering Study of the Composition of Ancient Chinese Bronzes—The Neutron Activation Analysis Procedure," *National Palace Museum Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 33-64.

¹⁴ *Kaogu* (1972), no. 1, "Report on Radiocarbon Dating (I)," pp. 52-56.

⁹ Kwang-chih Chang, Final Report, NSF, no. 1968, "Anthropological Analysis of Bronze Artifacts" (1968-71).

¹⁰ Rutherford J. Gettens, Roy S. Clarke, Jr., W. T. Chase, *Two Early Chinese Bronze Weapons with Meteoritic Iron Blades*, Freer Gallery Occasional Paper, vol. 4, no. 1 (Washington, 1971).

sequently, much historical and archaeological information has been lost and, paradoxically, those bronzes which have been technically studied most extensively can no longer be related to their archaeological context. We need data on bronzes with secure provenance, and this can only be obtained by examining the excavated pieces.

Two particularly interesting technical features in Chinese bronzes should be noted: chaplets, or casting spacers, are the first. These are square pieces of bronze used to separate the inner core and outer mold in order to maintain a casting space into which the molten metal can run. Yetts noted these chaplets in 1929 but thought that they were plugs set into the bronze after casting to close holes left by pins (a typical practice in lost-wax casting).¹⁵

In examining the bronzes in the Freer collection (using a checklist similar to Table III), R. J. Gettens also noticed these "plugs" but observed that they were arranged symmetrically. This indicated that the "plugs" or chaplets were in place prior to casting. Gettens also noticed that some chaplets contained *lei-wen* patterns unrelated to the vessel in which they occurred. This meant that the chaplets were made from broken scraps of earlier castings. Some chaplets also show traces of saw or file-marks which do not continue onto the vessel wall, demonstrating that the chaplets were sawn before the bronze was cast onto them. The metallographic cross-section of a typical chaplet also shows that the metal of the vessel flows around the chaplet; they actually are spacers used during the casting.

¹⁵ W. Perceval Yetts, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue, Volume One, Bronzes* (London, 1929), p. 37.

After Gettens first noticed these chaplets, they were found to occur on most of the authentic bronzes in the Freer collection. In fact, the ancient Chinese founder seems to have had favorite positions in which to put these chaplets, such as the clear band encircling *yu* vessels and the top and bottom edges of the clear band which surrounds the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask on the square bases of *kuei* with socles. Chaplets usually show very clearly on radiographs; they tend to increase in number on later vessels. Han dynasty bronze vessels have a large number of chaplets, as many as three dozen in one case.¹⁶ This feature in part can help to place a Chinese bronze in its correct chronological position and can throw some light on casting methods, the other topic of interest.

Many authors have stated unequivocally that ancient Chinese ceremonial bronze vessels were produced by the lost-wax casting technique, but due to the work of Noel Barnard¹⁷ and R. J. Gettens,¹⁸ it is now generally accepted that the ancient vessels were produced by a piece-molding method. Cyril S. Smith in a recent publication has surveyed the various proposed methods for casting Chinese bronzes¹⁹ and combined this with observation of modern Japanese foundries to arrive at a series of twelve techniques which were used, sometimes in combination, to make the Shang and Chou bronzes, including "Areas of molded detail applied as thin pre-molded slabs or plac-

¹⁶ Gettens, *Freer Chinese Bronzes*, p. 101.

¹⁷ Noel Barnard, *Bronze Casting and Bronze Alloys in Ancient China* (Monumenta Serica Monograph XIV, Tokyo, 1961).

¹⁸ Gettens, *Freer Chinese Bronzes*.

¹⁹ Cyril Stanley Smith, "Metallurgical Footnotes to the History of Art," *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, vol. 116, no. 2 (April, 1972).

quettes applied to the mold cavity in a condition soft enough to conform to its curvature." In this connection, Smith mentions a *chien* in the Freer Gallery (FGA 39.5, *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, vol. I, no. 94) which has both convex and concave decoration bands made from the same pattern stamp. In fact, the list of casting techniques and their refinements as practiced by the ancient Chinese becomes longer and longer; being able to see the ramifications of these diverse techniques in the vessels is one of the intriguing aspects of this sort of study.

Advances are still being made in the technical study of Chinese bronzes. An extensive study of Chinese bronze weapons in the Royal Ontario Museum is currently in progress; studies of the excavated material mentioned above are taking place on Taiwan; and one of the most exciting developments of the past few years, thermoluminescence, is just beginning to yield results in the field of Chinese bronzes.

Thermoluminescence is a method used to date archaeological pottery samples; it relies on the radioactive dose the ceramic has accumulated from its environment since firing, and in effect, it provides (within limits) the date when the pottery was last fired. Some Chinese bronzes contain ceramic cores; according to our research we know that this includes about two-thirds of the bronze vessels in the Freer collection. In most cases the last firing date of the core will be the date of casting of the bronze. This can give an estimation of the date and authenticity of a piece which is independent of any other method or of comparisons with excavated material. The importance of this type of dating is obvious; it is now possible to use the data from our

technical studies of museum material with much greater confidence that these data actually do represent genuine Chinese bronzes. Table IV and Chart I show lead versus tin content in the 18 bronzes we have had thermoluminescence-dated as of June, 1972 (dating done at the Laboratory for Archaeology and The History of Art, Oxford). In this table, the lead content increases and the tin content decreases in the later bronzes. Of course, more data is needed to build a decent statistical base, but the table certainly points to an interesting trend for further investigation.

To recapitulate, the technical laboratory can tell the art historian what the object is made from, in some cases when it was made, and how it was made. The laboratory can also detail previous treatments and, to some extent, the environment in which the object has been kept. If the art historian can supply a series of objects with secure date and/or provenance, the laboratory can often draw some interesting technical conclusions from the group; these conclusions may, in turn, help the art historian in further studies. If archaeologically reliable material is available, even more meaningful conclusions can be drawn. This type of investigation requires close collaboration to be successful; but when successful it possesses a power and incisiveness far beyond what either investigator could command alone.

Acknowledgements

Most of the work in this paper has not received previous publication; I wish to thank all of the staff of the Freer Gallery Technical Laboratory for their help in making this article possible. Rutherford J. Gettens, Head of the Laboratory for 17

TABLE IV
Thermoluminescence-dated Bronzes
(As of June, 1972)¹

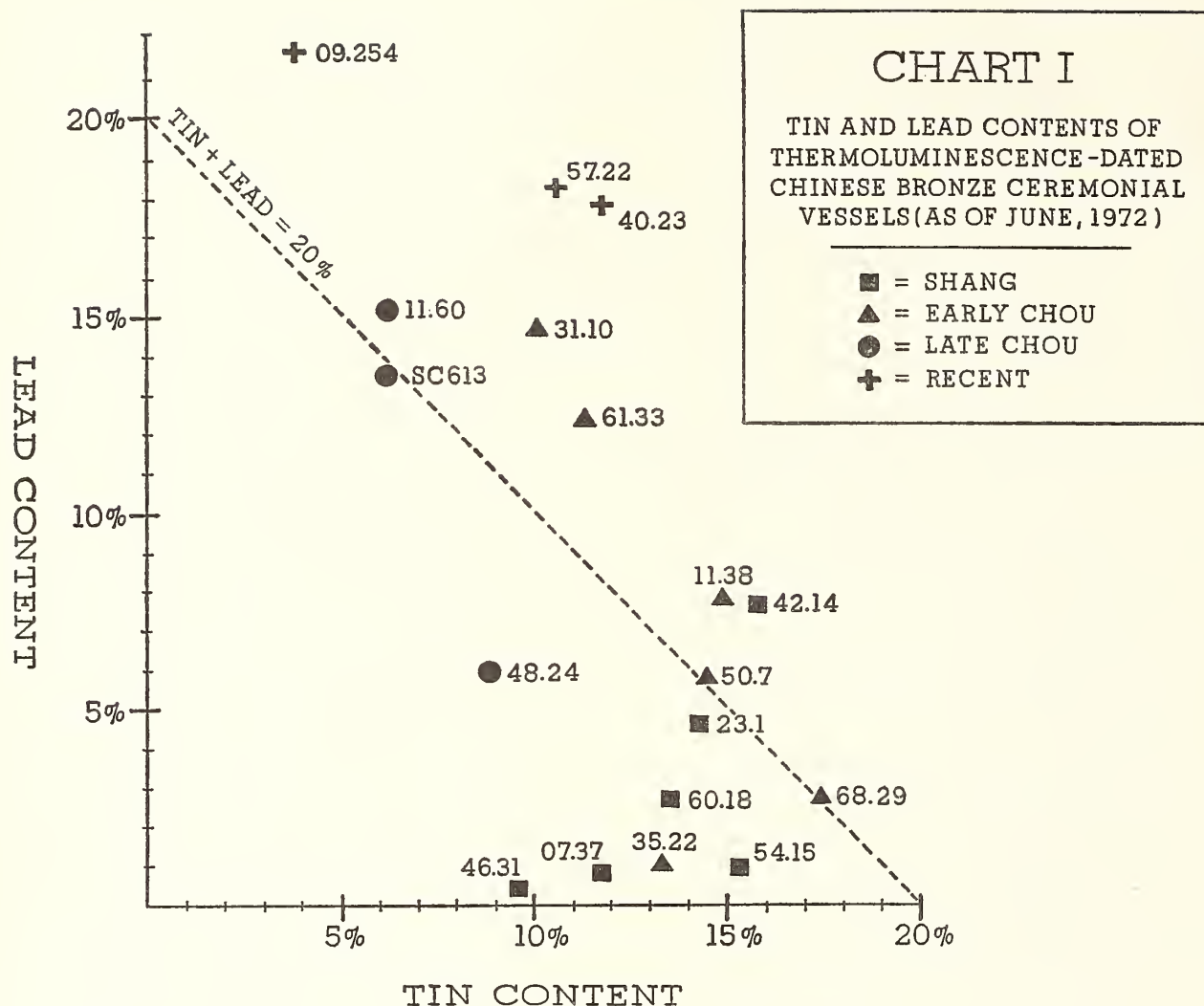
ACCESSION NUMBER	TYPE	THERMOLUMI- NESCEANCE DATE ²	STYLISTIC DATE ³	TIN CONTENT	LEAD CONTENT	TIN PLUS LEAD CONTENT
46.31	<i>ting</i>	800 B.C.	1150 B.C.	9.7%	0.4%	10.1%
07.37	<i>chia</i>	800 B.C.	1150 B.C.	12.2	1.0	13.2
60.18	<i>ting</i>	O.K. ⁴	1150 B.C.	13.6	2.8	16.4
23.1	<i>chia</i>	300 B.C.	1150 B.C.	14.3	4.7	18.0
36.6	Elephant-shaped <i>huo</i>	700 B.C.	1150 B.C.	not analyzed	—	—
42.14	<i>yu</i>	O.K.	1100 B.C.	15.7	7.8	23.5
54.15	<i>chüeh</i>	330 B.C.	1100 B.C.	15.4	0.9	16.3
68.29	<i>T'ai-pao kuei</i>	125 B.C.	1050 B.C.	17.5	2.8	20.3
35.22	<i>tiger</i>	300 B.C.	1000 B.C.	13.3	1.1	14.4
50.7	<i>fang-ting</i>	758 B.C.	975 B.C.	14.9	5.5	20.4
11.38	<i>kuei</i>	455 B.C.	975 B.C.	14.8	7.9	22.7
61.33	<i>Meyer kuang</i>	700 B.C.	975 B.C.	11.3	12.5	23.8
31.10	<i>kuei</i>	770 B.C.	975 B.C.	10.0	14.7	24.7
11.60	<i>ting</i>	O.K.	650 B.C.	6.4	15.3	21.7
48.24	Quadruped	470 B.C.	550 B.C.	8.9	6.0	14.9
SC613	<i>ting</i>	O.K.	450 B.C.	6.3	13.6	16.3
57.22	<i>hu</i>	A.D. 850	550 B.C.	10.5	18.3	28.8
40.23	Quadruped	A.D. 930	500 B.C.	11.7	18.9	30.6
09.254	<i>huo</i>	A.D. 1800	recent	3.8	21.8	25.6

NOTES: 1. Dating done at the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and The History of Art, Oxford. This data will receive fuller and more detailed publication elsewhere after completion of more thermoluminescence tests.

2. Dates are average (arithmetic mean) of the range given; point estimates are used for easy comparison with the stylistic range.

3. From *The Freer Chinese Bronzes* (vol. I) and Freer records. Both types of date have an uncertainty range.

4. Four of the thermoluminescence tests have told us only that the bronze is probably authentic; actual dating of the samples will be done later. These cases are abbreviated "O.K." here.



years, Elisabeth West FitzHugh, Ilona V. Bene, Dale Richey, Carolyn Rose, and John Winter all made contributions to these studies. Miss Lucile E. St. Hoyme of the National Museum of Natural History took the excellent radiographs reproduced here. Thomas Lawton, Assistant Director of the Freer Gallery, Rutherford J. Gettens, and Elisabeth T. G. Mibach of the Conservation-Analytical Laboratory, U.S.N.M., all reviewed this paper and made extensive revisions, most of which have been incor-

porated here. Finally, two special notes of thanks; one to our Director, Harold P. Stern, for asking for the C-14 date on the Suiko period piece, providing us with an excellent example of positive assistance to the art historian; the other to our previous Director, John A. Pope, who personally held the ivory Buddha while Gettens chiselled out the C-14 sample, thus providing a wonderful example of cooperation between the art historian and the technical investigator.



FIG. 1.—The Bodhisattva statue before cleaning.



FIG. 2.—Radiograph of head and shoulders of the Suiko period Bodhisattva, 09.343
(radiographic conditions: 30 kilovolts, 50 milliamperes-seconds, tube-to-film distance 30 inches,
Eastman Royal Blue film. Taken June 12, 1961 by L. E. St Hoyne, U.S. National Museum of Natural History.)



FIG. 3 a and b.—Front and back views; wooden standing statue of a Bodhisattva. Suiko period. Japanese. 09.343.



FIG. 4.—Front view of ivory Buddha, 57.25.

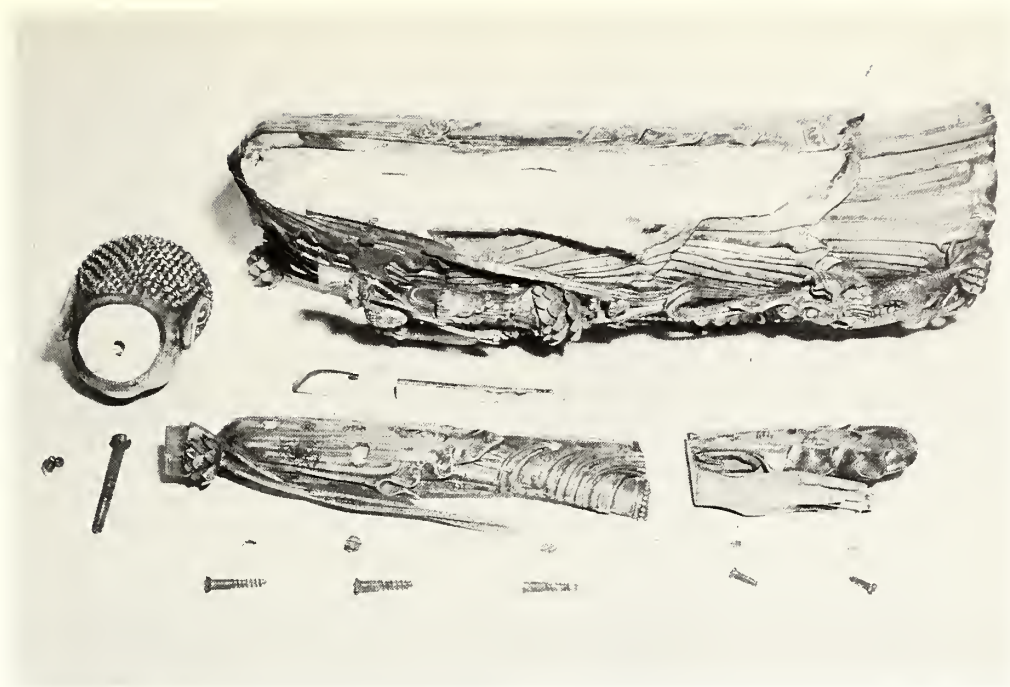


FIG. 5a.—Ivory Buddha, 57.25, after disassembly.

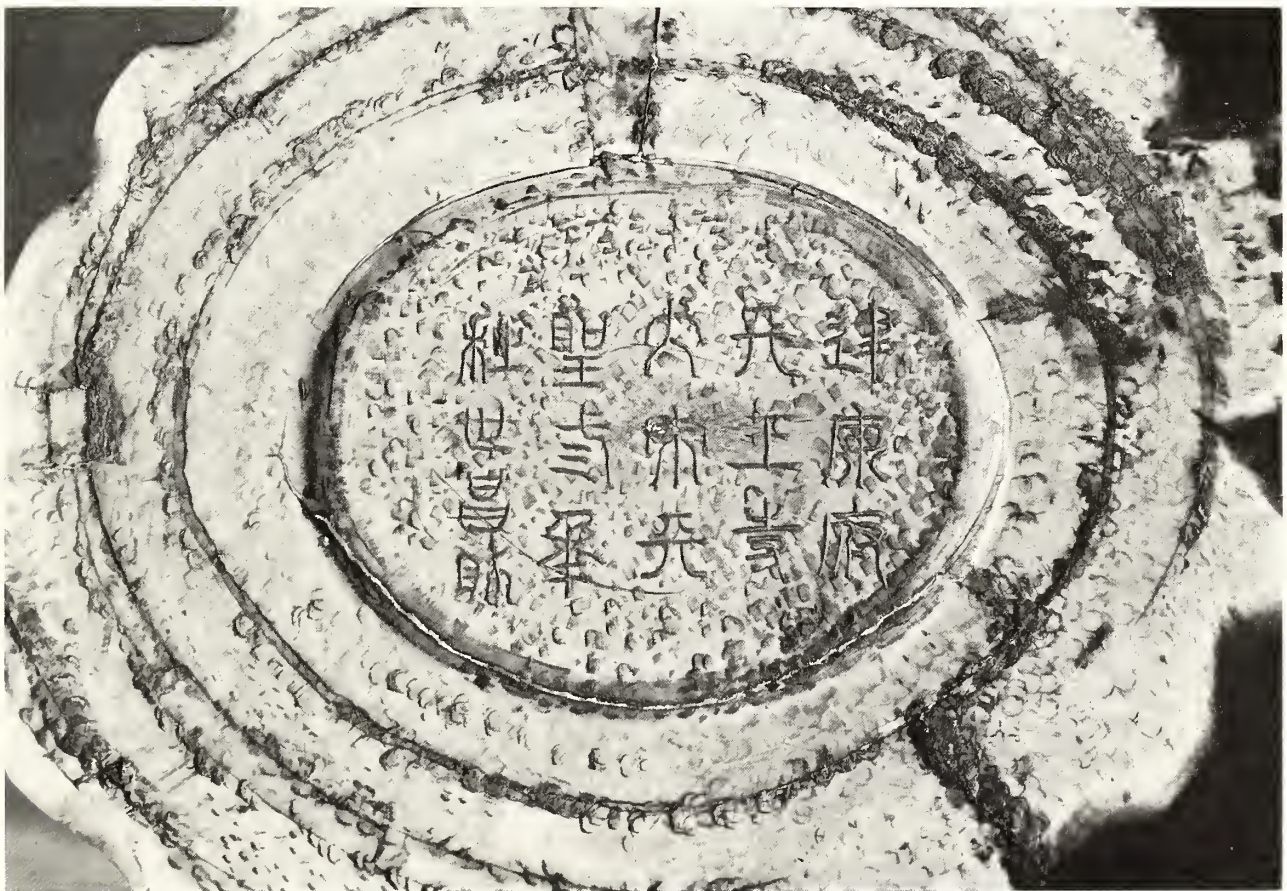


FIG. 5b.—Base of ivory Buddha, 57.25, showing inscription, and "engine-turning" marks characteristic of ivory.



FIG. 6.—Front view of ivory Buddha, 16.159.



Before Cleaning

After Cleaning

FIG. 7.—Belt-hook, 16.441, before and after cleaning.



FIG. 8.—Belt-hook, 19.69, before and after cleaning.



FIG. 9.—Belt-hook, 16.443.

THE YÜAN-MING TRANSFORMATION IN THE BLUE AND RED DECORATED PORCELAINS OF CHINA

BY MARGARET MEDLEY*

WHEN IN 1971 THE ORIENTAL CERAMIC SOCIETY MOUNTED its Jubilee exhibition "The Ceramic Art of China" at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the selection of suitable material for the Yüan and Ming periods in underglaze blue and underglaze copper red brought into sharper focus than hitherto a problem in stylistic development which has already stimulated much discussion and propagated considerable divergencies of opinion. The fourteenth-century Yüan material in the exhibition and that of the early fifteenth-century Ming, reinforced in the display the impression of a serious discontinuity which was perhaps more apparent than real. It was clear when the time came to prepare the definitive catalogue that a preliminary survey of the ground should be made in writing the short essay relating to the Yüan and Ming material, and this was indeed attempted.¹ Such a preliminary essay clearly needed to be followed up by making a more systematic examination of a large body of material in order to discover the full extent of the problem of how the transition from what

has almost indifferently been called the "Yüan style" and "the fourteenth-century style,"² to the matured and distinctively Chinese style of the fifteenth century came to be made at all, and by what means the transformation was actually accomplished.³ It is the purpose of this paper, following on from the essay in the definitive catalogue *The Ceramic Art of China*, to examine the problem in greater detail and to propose a solution in the form of a relative chronology. The suggestions also put forward with regard to more precise dating cannot be more than tentative, but they will open the way to further discussion and examination yielding results which can then possibly be checked against archaeological and other kinds of research to which we can look forward in the next few years.

From the time when the Mongols took over the administration of China, they quite unconsciously began to set up conditions wholly favorable to invention, re-direction and exploitation in the ceramic field, and at the same time they presented opportunities for the injection of revitalizing sparks of

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¹ "The Ceramic Art of China," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* (hereafter *TACS*), vol. 38 (London, 1971-72). This catalogue is also published separately without the Society's transactions.

² The use of these two terms has been the cause of some confusion. J. A. Pope in *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine* (Washington, 1956) (hereinafter *Ardebil*), uses the term "fourteenth century style," and clearly means within that context the period only up to the end of the Yüan dynasty. J. Ayers in "Some Characteristic Wares of the Yüan

Dynasty," *TACS*, vol. 29 (1954-55), pp. 69-91, speaks in his closing paragraph of a Yüan style, and equally clearly means the same as Pope, but J. M. Addis in "A Group of Underglaze Red," *TACS*, vol. 31 (1957-59), pp. 15-38, as well as in his "Postscript," *TACS*, vol. 36 (1964-66), pp. 89-102, uses the dynastic name Yüan to cover the whole century in terms of style without attempting to distinguish Yüan from Ming; other writers have used the term "fourteenth century" in the same way.

³ *Ardebil*, pp. 77-81. Pope discusses the problem in some detail, but the material then available did not permit any conclusions to be drawn.

artistic inspiration into Chinese culture. The invention was always there and, provided the opportunities were suitable, so too were direction and the capacity for exploitation, but it was the revitalizing spark which had in the event to come from outside. It is salutary to reflect that the craftsman will not accept outside influences unless the conditions are wholly appropriate. In fact the conditions have to make the influences, whatever their kind, more than merely acceptable; it is necessary for these influences also to be highly desirable. For this reason the early years of the fourteenth century were crucial so far as the Chinese were concerned because, although the geographical and, to a large extent, the technical conditions were favorable to the acceptance of alien influences, what was lacking up to that time were the pressures of social and economic conditions such as would culminate in a spontaneous and wholehearted acceptance of new ideas. It was precisely these conditions that the Mongols inadvertently provided; first by preferring not to employ Chinese scholars in the administration, the financial position of this influential class was weakened to such an extent that any interest or stimulus that could have resulted from their patronage was substantially diminished; and second, by exercising economic pressure by means of taxation on both production and commercial transactions as part of a policy aimed at extracting the maximum wealth from the empire, they forced the potters to find new solutions to the perennial problem of paying their way. The effects of the withdrawal of Chinese aristocratic patronage probably elicited a mixed response from the potters who, while perhaps regretting the loss of a market, could now feel free to redirect their

efforts into new experimental techniques, both structural and decorative. But while this alone may have been sufficient to stimulate an interest in alien influences, some of which were perhaps acceptable, it was only when the economic conditions produced by heavy taxation really began to bite that the introduction of alien elements could attain wholehearted acceptance, rapid absorption and swift development. Nothing could have been more beneficial at this point than the demand for blue and white from abroad, the source of the blue pigment. The Chinese potter had plenty of motifs and a diversity of decorative schemes, but he had not until this time been accustomed to employing them on such large surfaces as those required by his foreign customers. Because of this he had to make modifications and evolve new decorative schemes such as would suit the great size of the vessels. In these circumstances it was natural to take as schematic models those designs on objects, some of them in other materials, made by the craftsmen of another cultural tradition and transmitted to him by the Persian and Arab merchants, who also supplied the pigment for the decoration.⁴ The result was the emergence of an artistic style of a new kind, one better suited to the foreign taste than to that of the Chinese.

As blue-and-white would seem to have begun in this way it is hardly surprising that the educated Chinese, even at the end of the fourteenth century, stigmatized it as

⁴ Arthur Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery* (London, 1957), p. 22. See also my paper "Chinese ceramics and Islamic design," *Percival David Foundation Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia*, no. 3 (London, 1972).

"very vulgar."⁵ It was not, after all, originally made to please them, and they were not themselves in any case in a strong position to make their influence felt; they were indeed almost more obstinate in their adherence to familiar traditions than a notoriously conservative community of craftsmen. Kuan and Lung-ch'üan celadons were more to their liking, while the common taste had always inclined to Tz'u-chou 磁州 and *ch'ing-pai* 青白. It is interesting to note in this connection that these last two wares were more open than most to the impact of outside influences. It is also noteworthy that drama and the novel, both popular and favored by the Mongols, only gradually gained acceptance by the educated Chinese following a much more ready reception by the masses; the same kind of progression may be observed in the evolution of blue and white, also stimulated by the foreigner. But in blue and white an additional jolt was necessary before it could be accepted by the more sophisticated members of the Chinese public. The jolt was administered by what was almost a repetition of the events which had set up conditions for the innovation in the first instance. This was the defeat and eviction of the Mongols in 1368 and the consequent economic privations occasioned by the disruption of trade, especially the foreign trade, so that a re-adjustment was required that involved a further re-direction of effort aimed at capturing the domestic market as a substitute for the temporary collapse of the profitable overseas trade. It was unthinkable to discard what were now well-established decorative techniques, when by dispensing with the old

pattern books and adopting new ones more congenial to Chinese taste the output of ceramics, and hence the livelihood of the potters, could be maintained.

Such, broadly, is what we can infer to have happened, but obviously the change over to a Chinese oriented taste could not come overnight. Indeed historically this would appear very unlikely. Although hard at the moment to prove, the indications are that the kilns largely suspended operations for a time, perhaps for five years and possibly for as much as ten.⁶ Two factors lead to this conclusion: the first is that Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋, later to become T'ai-tsu 太祖, the founder of the Ming dynasty, fought part of his campaign through the province of Kiangsi; and the second is that after the establishment of peace, the province seems to have suffered from a series of natural disasters and local rebellions, on top of the possible destruction of the preceding years, which may well have had an impact on the areas in which the porcelain firing kilns of Jao-chou were located. The situation is confused and the sources in the literature which have survived are not very helpful; but it is difficult to come to any other conclusion in view of the frequent references in the *Shih-lu* 實錄 ("Veritable Records") to the deplorable

⁵ *Ko-ku kao-lun* (*I-men kuang-tu* edition) 格古要論 (夷門廣牘), Ch. 3, f. 3b.

⁶ Fritz Mote in *The Poet Kao Chi* (Princeton, 1962), has unravelled part of the complicated history of the period. When I originally dealt with the early years of the Ming in "The problem of the imperial kilns," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29 (London, 1966), pp. 326—338, I was under the impression that the tax offices at Jao-chou 饒州 and Ching-te Chen 景德鎮 had been set up simply to reap the benefits of a profitable trade. Better acquaintance with the sources has necessarily led to a modification of this view, and the possibility that initially they were established as part of a rescue operation in an economically important area cannot be ruled out.

state of the province in the first five or more years of the Ming dynasty.⁷ If we can accept such a conclusion and make it the basis of a working hypothesis, the apparently startling change in style and the sudden introduction of certain new forms and decorative motifs becomes a great deal easier to understand.

In order to see how the transition from the "Yüan style" to the fifteenth-century Ming style took place it is helpful first to look briefly at the group of wares that lie latest in the Yüan strata. It comprises, in terms of form, a few *mei-p'ing* 梅瓶, some large wine jars and large plates with flattened rim, plain at the edge.⁸ The decorative themes of these without exception include peony scrolls, now always painted instead of reserved in white against a colored ground as in earlier examples,⁹ the fungus scroll, classic scroll, segmented wave and the diamond diaper. The two illustrations of plates (*figs. 1 and 2*), serve to indicate these different decorations. It is also worth noting that the central field of plates is usually somewhat cluttered up with decoration, much of it rather small in scale,

⁷ One such local rebellion was that of Fang Ch'ou jen 方丑仁 in Jao-chou itself in December 1369 (*Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 明太祖實錄 Ch. 47, f. 4b). In the middle of 1371 conditions in Kiangsi were still reported to be very bad and that they had been so for about nine years; it was therefore ordered that measures be taken to remedy the situation (*Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu* Ch. 65, f. 1a and b). Even as late as 1375 it still seems to have been necessary to make tax remissions in respect of Jao-chou.

⁸ For the purposes of the present article the forms considered will be only those mentioned here, but it will be found that the observations made may equally well be applied to other forms such as small plates and cup-stands, although these particular forms do not occur in the first group to be discussed.

⁹ For instance *Ardebil*, pls. 17, 19 and 21. On the earlier Yüan chronology see my forthcoming *Yüan Ceramics*.

as may be seen particularly in the Peabody Museum plate (*fig. 1*). On the outside of plates, as well as round the bottom of vases and jars, petal panels appear, each one detached from its neighbor. Of all these elements, it is the transformation of the peony which proves the most interesting. In the earlier examples of the Yüan period, it occurs in what are fundamentally two different forms; in one of which the petals of the opened profile flower drop down on either side of the central element so that spaces appear between each petal, while in the other the petals of the lower part are firmly held together, remaining closely integrated with the central element which rises to an elegant point; only occasionally are buds interpolated as fillers. These two forms come together in the new emergent style of the late fourteenth century to produce a flower that was ultimately to become more naturalistic than the original from which it started, and the later designs, during the transitional stage, often incorporated carefully disposed buds not as fillers but as essential elements in the design. Of the remaining elements all but the diamond diaper persist right through the transition from Yüan to Ming, although some are temporarily abandoned and revived later in a slightly modified form.

The group nearest in style to this final one of the Yüan period is peculiar because an entirely new form is introduced on which all the decorative motifs noted appear in varying combinations together with a number of new ones. For the first time the rather round-bellied vertical form of ewer makes its appearance, and with it the so-called *yü-hu-ch'un p'ing* 玉壺春瓶, or pear-shaped vase with trumpet mouth. These two are basically one form as has been pointed out

by Pope and others.¹⁰ The form is different from that generally associated with the earlier fourteenth century; it is slender and elegant as well as light in weight in relation to size, whereas the reverse is the case with the new form, which is at least as weighty as it looks. The introduction of this form and the employment on it of the peony scroll marks a new departure and one which took some time to become firmly established. The obvious uncertainty in the handling of the peony scroll indicates clearly the nature of the problem of spatial management that faced the decorator when he transferred the peony from the well of a dish, or from a wide band round the central area of a jar or *mei-p'ing* where there was relatively little variation in the contour, to a large area of irregular shape.¹¹ Two examples serve to demonstrate this point, the first being the Brooklyn ewer (*fig. 3*) and the second the vase from the Tokyo National Museum (*fig. 4*), both of which are painted in copper red. In the case of the ewer there are many blank spaces, especially towards the top, and the scale is rather large. In the Tokyo example there is still largeness of scale, but the design instead of being widely spaced is in this case much more uncomfortable in being severely crowded and cramped towards the top.¹² It should also be noticed how the flower shown in profile has been rather firmly compressed as though from below,

so that it is almost triangular in form, a far cry from the earlier freer treatment but not uncommon at this time. Other features to be noticed are the use of the classic scroll round the foot-ring, which was to remain a constant feature for some time to come, the detached arrangement of the petal panels on the ewer compared with the closed order on the vase, the latter arrangement being preferred from now on, and the segmented wave around the neck. The S-form key-fret band is new inasmuch as it is quite different from that found on earlier fourteenth-century examples, where in every case it is made up of detached squared spirals, often obliquely set.¹³ The plantain leaves, which now become a common feature on vertical forms, are conceived differently from those of the David vase tradition but clearly stem from the earlier type.¹⁴ The central vein is open and uncolored, instead of being firmly blocked-in in color, as in the earlier form, and the edges of the leaves are strongly reinforced. Another new feature is the camellia scroll around the neck of the ewer. It is, not surprisingly, painted rather hesitantly. Restriction to a narrow band makes it difficult to treat easily in a position which lends itself better to more formal decoration, such as squared spirals and the hatchings of segmented waves.

Into this earliest group can be included the Gemeente Museum's massive bowl¹⁵

¹⁰ *Ardebil*, p. 87.

¹¹ See for instance the earlier type as represented by No. 1370 in Topkapu Saray, illustrated by J. A. Pope in *Fourteenth-Century Blue-and-White* (Washington, 1952) pl. 28.

¹² There were clearly a series of specially drawn basic designs for these vertical forms, as there were also for plates and bowls. It will be seen for example that the scroll on the Tokyo vase is used again, but in reverse, on the similar vase in Sir Harry Garner's

collection, illustrated by Addis, "A Group of Underglaze Red," pl. 16. A number of other examples of a similar kind are on record. Note that the top of the Tokyo vase is a restoration.

¹³ See the lid of the large wine jar illustrated by Kikutaro Saito, *Kobijutsu* 18, 1967, color plate 2.

¹⁴ *Illustrated Catalogue of the Underglaze Blue Decorated Porcelains in the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art* (London, 1963), no. B 613.

¹⁵ "The Ceramic Art of China," no. 143.

and a large plate shown in Tokyo in 1960¹⁶ (figs. 5 and 6). Both of these, and other examples of a similar kind, are of interest because the peony scroll is seen in the well and follows a strictly controlled pattern, which mechanically is remarkably exact. The profile flower, comfortably placed on the surface, is roughly rectangular in outline but uses the available space to advantage. The full-faced flower is generally distinguished in this group by a neat white ring at the center enclosing the pistil and stamens. Profile flowers also have stamens in the center, and on one example the copyist has evidently forgotten to complete one of the flowers, leaving a blank space above the stamens where there should be another petal.¹⁷ A significant fact about these plates and basins is that the flower scroll always includes eight flowers in place of the six found in the earlier examples of the last stratum of Yüan when peony, lotus or fungus scroll was used (figs. 1 and 2). In the central field of both the bowl and the plate, the chrysanthemum occurs for the first time as a freely disposed multiple spray, rather large in scale in relation to the surface and thus an innovation away from the earlier type of central decoration with its smaller scale and crowded organization.

Closely connected with these pieces are a series of plates which include other new motifs and which may well, in one or two cases, continue into the second, slightly later group to which we shall come in due course. One of these plates has a similar freely disposed multiple peony spray in the center (fig. 7), while around the well runs

a neat, perfectly balanced chrysanthemum scroll and round the plain flattened rim runs an equally neat fungus scroll. The peony flowers are intimately related to those on the vases and ewers as well as, in the case of the full-face and profile flowers, to those on the well of the plate in the Tokyo exhibition.¹⁸ The only real difference is the occurrence of buds and half open flowers, which are adjusted to the surface and give new life to what would otherwise be in danger of becoming a completely static design. This is seen again in the example in Dr. Cornelius Osgood's collection, a piece originally shown in the Philadelphia exhibition *Blue and White* in 1949 (no. 20), when it was in the possession of C. T. Loo (fig. 8). It is a particularly interesting specimen because here we are suddenly and unexpectedly confronted with a form that harks back to the earliest group of blue and white of the fourteenth century with a bracket lobed rim.¹⁹ But now the treatment is very different. Unlike the early examples which only had bracket lobed rims, this plate and the identical one in the Ataka collection²⁰ have the bracket lobing continuing down the well to the base without, however, including the foot-ring. Such a treatment of the form forces a new approach to the decoration of the well area—the use of a continuous scroll being aesthetically inadmissible because of the disquieting effect on an irregular surface.²¹ In its place are in-

¹⁸ See note 16 above.

¹⁹ *Ardebil*, pls. 16–22.

²⁰ *Exhibition of Selected Masterpieces of Old Chinese and Korean Ceramics from the Ataka Collection* (Tokyo, 1970), no. 23 in the Chinese section.

²¹ An interesting example demonstrating the unsatisfactory effect of a scroll on a broken surface is the Lung-ch'üan celadon plate in the Locsin collection; Leandro and Cecilia Locsin, *Oriental Ceramics Discovered in the Philippines* (Tokyo, 1967), fig. 126.

¹⁶ *One Hundred Masterpieces of Chinese Ceramics* (Tokyo, 1960), no. 80, from Oakland Art Museum.

¹⁷ Sotheby's Sale Catalogue (June 2nd, 1970), lot 57.

troduced lotus sprays which spring out and up the side towards the rim from the single line which delimits the central field. The change in the use of space in this area was to have far reaching effects which will be discussed later. The flattened rim is decorated with debased wave scroll pattern, which constitutes one of those rather misguided flights into archaism to which the Chinese craftsman was prone from time to time and which, proving aesthetically unsatisfactory, was soon relegated to limbo. Nevertheless on this occasion the design persisted briefly into what constitutes the second chronological group. The pattern in this instance derives in a somewhat emasculated form from the wave pattern that occurs on the Pao-ting faceted *mei-p'ing*, and is rather different in structure from that of the David vase type.²²

By far the most ambitious examples of bracket-lobed form of plate are the two, one in the Palace Museum in Taiwan (*fig. 9*) and the one in a Japanese collection, in which the lobing is taken even farther down into the structure to include the foot-ring. On these two pieces, painted in copper red, the design has been very carefully calculated, and the lotus spray for the other bracket-lobed examples are replaced for the first time by the flowers of the four seasons, which repeat in the correct rotation on the back (*fig. 10*) of the Palace Museum specimen but, for some unknown reason unless it be forgetfulness, fail to do so on the front. The twelve bracket lobes are divided into two parts each, and in each the flower sprays stand more or less erect, with a slight inclination first one way

and then the other, and are quite naturalistically painted. The central field is occupied by a handsome design of three large sprays of peony with some flowers fully opened, others as simple buds and yet others at various stages of opening. The flattened rim is filled with knobbed classic scroll, no longer reserved in white against a colored ground as on the vases but painted directly in the positive form. From now on both types are to be found. None of the flower sprays whether round the well or in the center actually spring or grow from the earth or from a rock, but the hint of this development is apparent in the persistent use of a base line. Both these plates, which must have been specially ordered, constitute the main link between the first group with the peony scrolls and chrysanthemum scrolls and the second group in which the flowers of the four seasons become a predominant motif.

The second group is clearly defined by the constant use and very systematic arrangement of the flowers of the four seasons—a particularly good example being the plate in the Palace Museum in Taiwan (*fig. 11*) with the four sprays freely disposed round the small central medallion enclosing a group of lotus and waterweed, an element recalling very nearly the same motif so popular in the full flood of the Yüan style. The plain-edged flattened rim is filled with chrysanthemum scroll, a new feature but one which was to persist at intervals over the next fifty years. The bracket lobing has once more been abandoned in favor of a smooth-sided well and does not occur at all in the second group. It only re-appears on the large pieces when the fifteenth century begins to display a specific identity in terms of style. This particular plate is of great

²² *Wen-wu* 文物 1965, no. 2, pp. 17-18 and 22, pl. 2, figs. 1 and 2.

interest because in the well an entirely new element is introduced and one which can best be described as a variegated lotus scroll. Closely allied to this plate is the massive blue-and-white bowl in the Freer Gallery of Art (*figs. 12 and 13*), where the same scroll appears round the inner wall. It is here more elaborately treated with many more scrolling leaf forms and at the same time lacks the carefully placed leaf-like knots which mark the major joints in the scroll as seen on the Palace Museum plate. It may perhaps have been felt necessary to dispense with them in view of the very large surface, which in any case entailed the introduction of a greater number of leaf forms in order to give coherence to the design.²³ The fungus scroll, which was one of the features of the first group, appears both inside and outside at the rim and is here accorded a unique treatment, each fungus element filling a space of its own instead of overlapping the main stem. Each element is also oriented upwards to the rim irrespective of whether it occurs above or below the stem; this is quite exceptional and, so far as I know, there are no other examples of such handling.

At this point in the second group there begins a division into two main streams of development. In one the central field is dominated by a bifurcated flower spray, as represented by the handsome peony spray in the Freer Gallery bowl (*fig. 14*). In the other the concept of growth from a rock or

earthy base line is the theme, the most illuminating example of which is a plate in blue and white illustrated in an article by Sun Ying-chou published in *Wen-wu* in 1966.²⁴ The plate includes a chrysanthemum scroll round the flattened rim, similar to the Place Museum example, and round the well instead of in the central field, are extended sprays of the flowers of the four seasons. The center, however, is dominated by a pomegranate tree with bamboo on either side growing from a well-defined rock placed in the approximate center of a low earthen bank. Other members of the group are two bowls in Topkapu Saray, with peony scrolls round the inside.²⁵ One has a camellia tree in flower, and the other has bamboo and fungus growing from a rock in the lower center of an octagonal bracket-lobed medallion.²⁶ From an examination of these pieces it becomes apparent that certain types of scroll pattern continued in use over an extended period. It is this fact more than any other which complicates the problems of the chronology of the transitional period. Nevertheless, the introduction of the earthy bank and the ornamental rock provide a most valuable clue to the evolution. The same use of the earthy bank and the rock is found on vases such as the blue and white one in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (*fig. 15*) and the copper red one in the Trevelyan collec-

²⁴ Fig. 28 in "Yüan Ming Ch'ing tz'u-ch'i ti chien-t'ing (Hsü)," 元明清磁器的鑒定(續), *Wen-wu*, 1966, no. 3, pp. 48-58; see also *figs. 26 and 29*.

²⁵ Illustrated by Soame Jenyns, "The Chinese porcelains in the Topkapu Saray, Istanbul," *TOCS*, vol. 36 (1964-66), pls. 45a and b.

²⁶ Additional examples are the four illustrated in *Wen-wu*, 1959, no. 1, p. 52. This appears to be no more than a temporary revival of the "cloud collar" motif as it appears only in this one group.

²³ Other examples of this design may be seen on Topkapu Saray no. 1678, illustrated by Addis, "A Group of Underglaze Red—a Postscript," *TOCS*, vol. 36 (1964-66), pl. 84a, and on the plate in the Palace Museum in Taiwan, published in *Blue and White of the Ming Dynasty*, Book I, (Hong Kong: Cafa Company, 1963), pl. 2a.



FIG. 1.—Blue-and-white plate. Diam., ca. 14 in.
Peabody Museum, Yale University.



FIG. 2.—Blue-and-white plate. Diam., ca. 14 in.
Mr. R. H. Ellsworth.

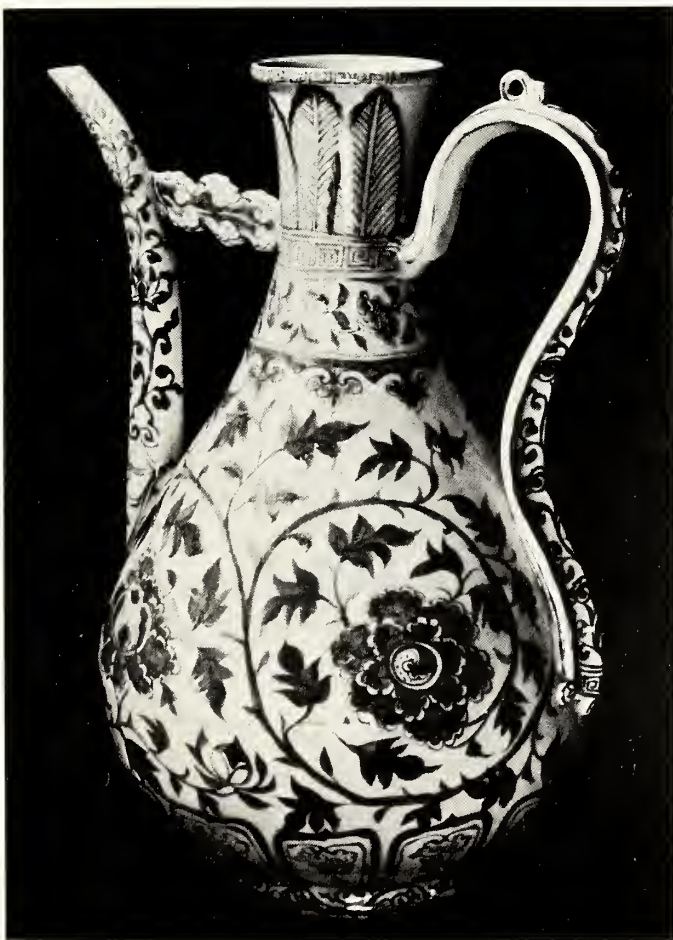


FIG. 3.—Copper red decorated ewer. Ht., 13 in.
Brooklyn Museum of Art.



FIG. 4.—Copper red decorated vase. Ht., 13 1/4 in.
Tokyo National Museum.



FIG. 5.—Copper red decorated bowl. Diam., 30 1/2 in.
Gemeente Museum, The Hague.



FIG. 6.—Copper red decorated plate. Diam., 30 1/2 in.
Oakland Art Museum.



FIG. 7.—Copper red decorated plate. Diam., 13 1/2 in.
The Art Institute of Chicago.



FIG. 8.—Copper red decorated plate. Diam., 18 in.
Dr. Cornelius Osgood.



FIG. 9.—Copper red decorated plate, front. Diam., 21 3/4 in. Palace Museum, Taiwan.



FIG. 10.—Back of Palace Museum plate.



FIG. 11.—Blue-and-white plate. Diam., 18 1/4 in.
Palace Museum, Taiwan.



FIG. 12.—Blue-and-white bowl. Diam., 16 1/4 in.
Freer Gallery of Art, 51.3.



FIG. 13.—Interior of Freer Gallery bowl.



FIG. 15.—Blue-and-white vase. Ht., 12 1/2 in.
Philadelphia Museum of Art.



FIG. 16.—Copper red decorated vase. Ht., 14 1/2 in.
Chinese Collection.



FIG. 14.—Detail of center of Freer Gallery bowl.

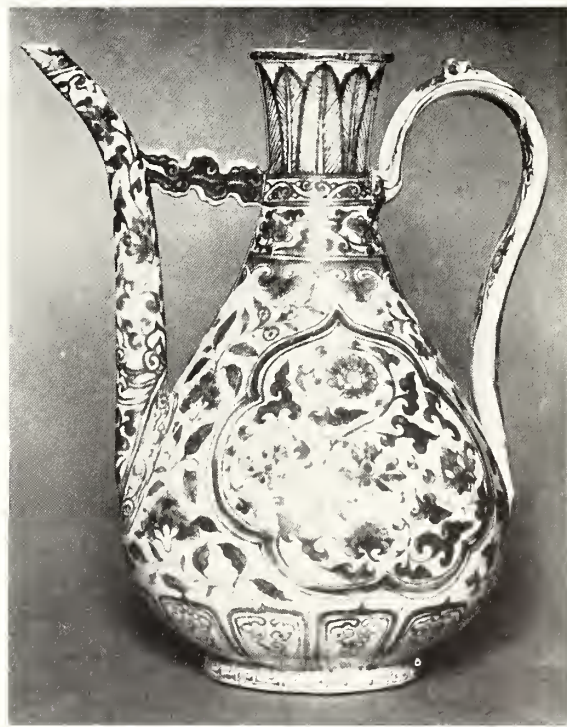


FIG. 17.—Copper red decorated ewer. Ht., 12 3/4 in.
City Art Gallery, Glasgow.



FIG. 18.—Blue-and-white dish. Diam., 23 in. Mr. R. P. Griffing, Honolulu.



FIG. 19.—Blue-and-white plate. Diam., 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Mr. J. M. Addis, Sussex.



FIG. 20.—Blue-and-white dish. Diam., 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Ardebil.



FIG. 21.—Blue-and-white dish. Diam., 16 1/4 in. Ardebil.



FIG. 22.—Blue-and-white plate. Diam., 14 1/2 in. Ardebil.



FIG. 23.—Blue-and-white vase. Ht., 11 1/4 in.
Palace Museum, Taiwan.



FIG. 24.—Detail of wave band on Palace Museum vase.



FIG. 25.—Blue-and-white ewer. Ht., 10 3/4 in.
Mr. R. P. Griffing, Honolulu.



FIG. 26.—Another view of Griffing ewer.



FIG. 27.—Blue-and-white vase. Ht., 13 1/4 in.
Percival David Foundation.



FIG. 28.—Blue-and-white vase. Ht., 14 in.
Percival David Foundation.

tion, the latter illustrated by Addis.²⁷ Another remarkable example with the same type of rock as that seen on the Philadelphia vase is the copper red vase, much damaged and cut down, in a Chinese collection, decorated with pine, prunus and bamboo (*fig. 16*).²⁸ This is also an important piece on account of the introduction of the overlapping lappets at the base of what was originally the neck.²⁹ It is an element that occurs quite frequently in the early fifteenth century, as will be seen below, and is also found in the sixteenth century in a slightly modified form.

Of the vertical forms included in this group, besides the Philadelphia blue-and-white vase and the Trevelyan copper red one, are a series decorated in red which include the ewer formerly in the Palmer collection,³⁰ a vase in the Addis collection³¹ and a ewer in Brooklyn, which has a terrace landscape scene.³² A final and important but slightly differently decorated member of the group is the ewer in the Glasgow City Gallery of Art, a piece formerly in the Clark collection (*fig. 17*). Two points need to be

noticed with reference to this ewer; first, the flowers of the four seasons grow up on either side of the spout and handle but not from any base line, leaving a multilobed panel to dominate a large area on either side, an arrangement to be seen again later; the second point is the use of a variant form of the variegated lotus scroll within the panel. It is handled in an unusual manner, without any conscious beginning, and the five flowers and the scrolling leaves are disposed so that practically the whole area is comfortably filled; the only place where there is slight awkwardness is on the lower left side. The design was to be developed and given more varied treatment in the following years and became relatively common on the large plates that were exported to the Islamic west in the fifteenth century.³³

The features characterising this diversified second group are perhaps more noticeably transitional in nature than those of the first, which retain to a large extent elements of a marked Yüan flavor. The introduction of freely treated flower sprays on a broader scale than hitherto is, however, a strong indication of change; and so, too, is the use of a naturalistic base line with rocks. Of the smaller details to be borne in mind are the radiating disposal of flower sprays in the bracket lobed plates and the overlapping use of lappets. The flower sprays in the central field are either bifurcated, as on the Freer bowl (*fig. 14*), or are organized as scrolls of a central flower with others surrounding it.

The succeeding group, the third, which evolved quite naturally from the second, is large and extremely diverse, including not only a wide range of forms but also an

²⁷ Addis, "A Group of Underglaze Red," pl. 4c.

²⁸ *Yang Ch'üan hsien-sheng ch'üan-hsien wen-wu t'u-lu* 楊銓先生捐獻文物圖錄 (Catalogue of the art collection given to the state by Mr. Yang Ch'üan), edited by Canton Cultural Object Administration Committee, Peking, Wen-wu Press, 1965, pl. 39.

²⁹ Addis, "A group of underglaze red—a postscript," pp. 89–102, pl. 82a and b and pl. 83a. See also the line drawing on p. 101. Addis refers to this decoration as "cloud collar," but this is an error; the origins of this motif are quite different.

³⁰ *The Arts of Ming Dynasty*, Arts Council of Great Britain and Oriental Ceramic Society (London, 1957), no. 151.

³¹ Addis, "A Group of Underglaze Red," pl. 4d. Another much finer example, but poorly illustrated, may be seen among the illustrations to Sun's article in *Wen-wu* quoted above in note 18, *fig. 21*.

³² Suzanne G. Valenstein, *Ming Porcelain* (New York, 1971), p. 21, no. 1.

³³ For examples of the later type see *Ardebil*, pls. 34–36.

increased variety in the handling of the decorative elements as well as in their combinations. Probably the single most important piece among the plates and dishes in this group is the massive dish in the possession of Mr. Robert P. Griffing in Honolulu (*fig. 18*) with its loquat tree in the center, which immediately recalls the plate illustrated in *Wen-wu*.³⁴ The well, however, is approached differently; the continuous scroll is abandoned and replaced by a series of six species of detached flower sprays painted in a highly accomplished manner and in arrangement slightly reminiscent of that on the bracket-lobed plates in which the sprays are also detached and slightly inclined from the perpendicular. Round the rim is a narrow band of classic scroll, which from now on through the fifteenth century is to become a remarkably persistent feature. On the back is a continuous flower scroll. Closely connected with this dish are those others decorated with landscape scenes in the center and with fruiting and flowering sprays round the sides.³⁵ The treatment of the individual floral elements round the sides differs from that seen on the Griffing dish, suggesting that by this time a series of acceptable patterns were now available upon which the decorators could draw at will. For example there is a dish in this series which, in place of detached flower sprays, has a number of well stocked flower beds set out at intervals around the sides, both inside and outside.

³⁴ *Wen-wu*, 1966, no. 3, fig. 28.

³⁵ *Ardebil*, pls. 41 and 43, nos. 29.310, 29.312 and 29.311 respectively, the last one with a series of well stocked flower beds as decoration round the inside and outside of the walls. A further two examples are illustrated in *Sekai tōji zenshū* 世界陶磁全書 (Tokyo, 1956), vol. 11, pl. 54, from a private collection and pl. 55 from the Nezu Collection.

The use of the detached spray on a plain surface is likely to have been a development from the use of the same element on the bracket-lobed plates, which demanded this kind of discontinuity. In a number of instances in this third group the use of such sprays occurs in the deep well of plates with a plain flattened rim and without lobing. The arrangement proves very satisfactory visually, especially when the decoration in the central field is large in scale, as in the case of the Addis plate with its noble lotus spray disposed easily round the central field (*fig. 19*), a new and pleasing treatment of surface; the same can also be said of the dish in Ardebil with its bifurcated peony spray (*fig. 20*),³⁶ the ancestry of which can be traced directly back into the second group in, for instance, the Freer Gallery bowl (*fig. 14*). All this is not to say that the floral scrolls were not used in the wells of plates and around the sides of dishes; they certainly were, and there are two admirable examples in the Ardebil collection, with in each case the center dominated by a large-scale plant growing from an earthy base line (*figs. 21 and 22*). One of these has an oddly arranged vine decoration, the direct ancestor of a well-known vine decorated type of the fully evolved fifteenth-century style. Round the well, instead of detached flower sprays, the sprays of eight different species have, as it were, congealed into a continuous scroll; this is a curiously ambivalent approach to the use of floral elements, since the symbolic use of the flowers of the four seasons has been abandoned and those of the twelve months not attained. The other example, with a melon vine in the center, again has a congealed series of eight species of flowers of fundamentally the same type, but now on

³⁶ *Ardebil*, pl. 32, no. 29.64.

a much larger scale. The decoration of the flattened rim of this plate brings us face to face for the first time in the fifteenth century with the wave border. Here we have an instance of the designer taking up a much earlier element and restating it in a new rhythm. It is not the emasculated wave pattern seen in the first group,³⁷ but harks back farther to the vigorous David vase type, though now treated to a more closely repetitive rhythm. The same wave pattern and the use of a different series of flowers on a scroll also occurs on a number of vases, which include features that in some cases link them to earlier groups and, in others, look forward into the future.

One of the vases in the Palace Museum in Taiwan falls into this category and has a wave pattern, similar to that on the Ardebil plate, which runs around the bottom just above the foot-ring (*figs. 23 and 24*). The form of the vase is heavy, being wide and low in the belly and rather thick in the neck. The flower scroll around the body is large in scale, composed only of boldly drawn lotus, while in a narrow band immediately above are detached flower sprays. Another similar one in Ardebil is a member of the group,³⁸ but in place of the wave decoration round the bottom there is a band of overlapping lappets of the same type as that on the massive truncated vase seen in the previous group (*fig. 16*). The lappet band recurs in a modified form round the neck, which is also encircled by a S-form key-fret and a wide band of what may originally have been knobbed scroll—both elements looking back to an earlier stage in the evolution. On vases the plantain leaf band in the topmost register round the neck may be dispensed

with, but it is retained on ewers, the leaves no longer being strongly reinforced along the outside edge. The form of the ewer remains what it has been all along, with large strap handle and long curving spout tied to the neck by a cloud-form bar. There are a number of ewers which seem to lie chronologically later than the vase described, and so at the end of the group, even forming a distinctive sub-group at the end of the tradition: one is in the Topkapu Saray,³⁹ a second in Ardebil,⁴⁰ a third until recently was in the Brodie Lodge collection⁴¹ and a fourth in the Griffing collection (*figs. 25 and 26*). These mark the end of this particular development, and thereafter the form itself vanishes. On the Griffing specimen the plantain leaves remain round the neck, and below this is a stylised lotus scroll. The main part of the body is occupied by two quartrefoil panels, on each side of which sprays of the flowers of the four seasons fill the remaining space between the panels and the handle and spout in exactly the same way as on the Glasgow ewer (*fig. 15*). The base is encircled by a rather elaborate type of petal panel very similar to that on the former Norton collection *mei-p'ing*, which must be fairly close in date to the ewers, though possibly a little later.⁴² Up the spout run two knobbed classic scrolls in their final variant form, and up the outside of the handle are four small fungus sprays. The scale of the decoration in relation to the

³⁹ Ismail Unal, "Çin Porselenleri üzerindeki Türk Târsiâtî" *Türk San'ali Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1963), no. TKS 15/1410.

⁴⁰ *Ardebil*, pl. 54, no. 29.427. The other two of the same form illustrated on this plate also belong to the group, the damaged specimen no. 29.430 being a particularly striking example of the transitional type.

⁴¹ Sotheby's Sale Catalogue (March 14, 1972), lot. 128.

⁴² "The Ceramic Art of China," no. 148.

³⁷ Figure 8.

³⁸ *Ardebil*, pl. 53, no. 29.448.

surface is slightly smaller than on the Palace Museum vase, and the transformation into an identifiable and significantly Chinese style is now virtually complete. The slight diminution in scale and the greater value given to the void areas is a characteristic of the blue-and-white that can be firmly dated to the fifteenth century. The final stage in the use of the vase form is seen in two examples, both narrow in the neck, in the Percival David Foundation (*figs.* 27 and 28) on which the floral scroll decoration of the central band is eliminated in favor of a freely composed design admirably adjusted to the surface. In one case there are two groups of day lilies and in the other two birds on a prunus branch. The other elements remain much the same as before, the key-fret, the overlapping lappets and the formal scrolling around the neck; but the petal band has now settled down into the form in which it is to remain for the greater part of the fifteenth century.

In arranging the material into only three groups to cover a period of approximately fifty years, it may seem that the treatment has been unreasonably harsh; but the great mass of material enables one to distinguish these three most clearly, once the fundamental forms are accepted and the basic decorative elements recognised. With a more extended treatment it would be possible to subdivide both the second and third groups into two separate parts each in its chronological place in the total series, but this must be left for another occasion.

When the dating of the three groups is considered as distinct from their relative chronology, there is little enough to guide one; and any suggested dating will inevitably be open to critical discussion. Nevertheless something should be said, and the

suggestions made here can perhaps provide a starting point for future research.

If we assume, as proposed at the beginning of this paper, that the kilns making underglaze copper red and underglaze cobalt blue decorated wares suspended production for a period at the end of the Yüan and the beginning of the Ming, we are faced with a dating bracket of about fifty years to be filled from approximately 1375 to the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, or until about the beginning of the Hsüan-te 宣德 period in 1426. The first group can then be conceived as filling the period from about 1375 to sometime between 1385 and 1390, while the second group, which is a good deal more varied and could well be broken into an earlier and a later part, would encompass the period from between 1385 to 1390 until about 1405 or 1410; and the third group, which could again be chronologically subdivided, can be assumed to continue to the end of the first quarter of the century to link up with those wares which we are accustomed to call "Hsüan-tê." The division of the first from the second group is probably the most uncertain, largely because of the almost complete absence of source materials other than the objects themselves. The division of the second from the third group, however, is slightly less uncertain and does not rest solely on the objects, being to some extent dependent on historical facts which emerge from the study of the export of blue-and-white to the Islamic west. It is one of the most striking features, for instance, of the Ardebil collection that while it includes no examples of blue-and-white or of copper red that can be assigned to either of the first two groups, the third is amply represented by some very fine specimens. The

explanation would seem to lie in the historical situation in that part of Asia as it was at the time. Just about the same time as the Mongols were facing ruin in China, Timur was beginning to ravage Iran and the borders of Central Asia, and it was not until after his death and the accession of Shah Rukh in 1405 that diplomatic relations with China returned to anything like normal. By 1419 when the Chinese sent an embassy to Herat, the seat of Shah Rukh, ceramics and silks had both re-

covered an important place in the trade. It is significant that such a large number of really fine pieces of the early fifteenth-century third group are found in Ardebil, while the number in the Palace Museum is so much smaller and the quality perhaps less fine, as though the Chinese court only grudgingly acquired blue-and-white through the whole period. In the last group, especially among the ewers, vases and large plates, the first securely Chinese ceramic style in blue-and-white is safely established.

OTTOMAN MINIATURE PAINTING UNDER SULTAN MEHMED II

By ESIN ATIL*

Introduction

The origin of Ottoman miniature painting is rather obscure, and its initial phases have not yet been thoroughly analysed. We are better informed of the painting traditions after the second half of the sixteenth century, especially the immense range and quantity of illustrated manuscripts executed under Murad III.

The Ottoman archives themselves are silent about the fifteenth-century Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul schools. The oldest entry which points to the existence of a palace painting studio is dated around 1525.¹ This document reveals an advanced organization, giving the names of masters and apprentices, their salaries and status within the hierarchy of the *nakkashane*, indicating that by this date the system was well established. It also suggests that the royal studio had been in operation for more than one generation as some of the painters are listed as being the sons of artists previously employed in the court. Therefore, it is very likely that the first imperial studio was set up in Istanbul before 1500, perhaps as early as the 1480s.

Another local document, the 1586 *Menakıb-ı Hünerveran* of Ali, a history of calligraphy and bookbinding, mentions the names of several painters from the early periods. Some of these artists also appear in Evliya Çelebi's voluminous *Seyyahatname* written be-

tween 1630 and 1670. However, since these authors lived more than a century later than the period with which we are concerned, the information they present cannot be fully evaluated as none of the names given by them can be related to the existing images.

The earliest period in Ottoman miniature painting in which an identifiable group of objects can be placed falls within the reign of Mehmed II (1451–81). Although devoid of definite archival documentation and limited in material—two illustrated manuscripts, an album of calligraphy and drawings, and a few portraits—the tradition of Ottoman miniature painting makes its initial appearance during these years.

Manuscript productivity in the following period, under Bayezid II (1481–1512), is far more extensive with close to a dozen illustrated works, half of which are dated. The 1525 document also lists several artists as having been employed by Bayezid II although there is no reference to Mehmed II and his court painters.²

The first century and a half of Ottoman history prior to the conquest of Istanbul reveals no distinct evidence of illustrated manuscript production. Bursa, whose architectural style and innovations has been sufficiently studied, possesses not even a single

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¹ Rıfki Melul Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları: Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1953), pp. 3–5.

² The eclectic group of manuscripts from the reign of Bayezid II reflects at times the Turkman trends of Shiraz and Tabriz, often combined with the style associated with Herat, and a usually creative local tradition which is purely Ottoman. These manuscripts will be the subject of a future study.

image although it was the seat of the court between 1326 and 1362. From Edirne, which was the capital until the fall of Istanbul in 1453, we have a singular manuscript executed after the city had ceased to be the administrative center of the empire. It is only subsequent to the establishment of the court in Istanbul that we observe a conscious effort to create a painting studio.

The early Istanbul school of painting is best known for the visits of Italian artists who were sent upon the request of Mehmed II with invitations extended to Matteo de Pasti, Costanza da Ferrara, and Gentile Bellini. There is hardly any material from the hands of these masters to indicate what they brought into the Ottoman world and how their style affected the ensuing painting activities of the court. Several Ottoman portraits which either copy European images done in Istanbul or were greatly influenced by them provide proof of the fact that there obviously existed some painters of talent in the imperial studio.

The Court of Mehmed II

In order to analyse the scanty material at our disposal from the early imperial school of painting, the unique and eclectic intellectual environment of the Istanbul court should be defined as well as the aspirations of its patron, Mehmed II.

Mehmed II, born in Edirne in 1432, was trained to the role of sultan from childhood, being sent to serve as a governor in Manisa at the age of eight. In 1444 when his father, Murad II, retired he became the youngest sultan in Ottoman history. Although internal and external problems led to the recall of his father in two years, the experience was of great value to the prince. When Mehmed II ascended the Ottoman

throne for the second time, upon the death of Murad II in 1451, he was a nineteen-year old ambitious and intellectually enlightened sultan, superbly trained in military matters and administrative leadership.

Mehmed II's first military act, the conquest of Istanbul, was successfully concluded within the first two years of his reign. During his thirty-year sultanate the Ottomans grew into a vast empire incorporating almost all of Anatolia, Crimea, and major parts of the Balkans up to Belgrade; their forces challenged the Italians in the Mediterranean and landed at Otranto.

We know that Mehmed II was greatly interested in Western history and culture. It is rumored that he could read Slavic, Serbian and Greek in addition to Turkish, Persian and Arabic. Several contemporary writers have compared Mehmed II with Alexander the Great and Caesar, quoting him as having said that if Alexander conquered the East from the West, he would conquer the West from the East.³

Mehmed II's preoccupation with the past heroes of the West appears to have been primarily involved with their military conquests. He had European histories read to him and asked that some of them be translated into Turkish. But like Alexander before him, Mehmed II was also curious about the cultural heritage of the nations he faced. To learn about the West—its historical, social and political backgrounds, its arts, and its strategic capabilities—absorbed much of his energy. This interest is reflected in the foreign books in Mehmed II's library which date from the twelfth century. Although the collection contained a great

³ Franz Babinger, "Fatih Sultan Mehmet ve Italya," *Belleten*, vol. 17, no. 65 (Jan., 1953), pp. 53-54.

quantity of religious books, especially Bibles, there were over fifty volumes dealing with historical, geographical and military subjects.⁴

Mehmed II's involvement with the West and his desire for a worldwide empire is suggested by his contacts with Western scholars and relations with the Italians at the court. It is possible that the Sultan contemplated the conquest of Italy after the fall of Istanbul. The landing of his forces at Otranto certainly supports such a suggestion. It is interesting to speculate as to whether or not Mehmed II could have succeeded in subjugating Italy had he not died on the eve of his last campaign (to Rome?).

There are many studies on the life and reign of this exceptional Sultan, but there has yet to be a complete work on the political and cultural relations between the Ottomans and the Italian states.⁵ Mehmed II was exposed to Italians during his early years in Manisa, and Western embassies had already been frequenting the Ottoman capital in Edirne during his father's reign.⁶

Even though contact with Italian nations was established prior to the conquest of Istanbul, it was definitely accelerated following this event. Numerous Italians were active in the Istanbul court between 1453 and 1481, attempting to gain commercial and political concessions and alliances with the Ottomans. The Italian states, frequently at war with each other,

tried to further their own interests at the court and to damage Ottoman relations with their neighbors. The Florentines, for instance, were the most influential group in the 1460s and often prevented contacts with Venice.⁷ It is only after 1479, when the sixteen-year wars ended, that we find diplomatic relations on an official level between Venice and Istanbul.

Mehmed II's request for European painters, especially portraitists, is indicative of not only his Western inclinations but also his aspirations to immortalize his person, as had the emperors of past and present. To belong to the cult of world rulers and perpetuate his image appears to have been a specific concern with this Sultan. His preoccupation with portraiture was very Western in its concept, and one which was uniformly followed in Europe, particularly in Italy.

We possess a limited amount of artistic material dating from the reign of Mehmed II in Istanbul. These include portions of a few structures of the Topkapı Palace: the Bab-ı Hümayun (the outer gate, dated 1478), parts of Bab üs-Selam (the second gate) and doors of the Hazine (Treasury). Only the Çinili Köşk (dated 1472) still retains its original plan and decoration.

Aside from those buildings we have his tughras, garments, weapons and his personal library which was compiled during his governorship in Manisa as well as during his reign in Istanbul. As many manuscripts were distributed to various libraries of Istanbul after Mehmed II's death, the extent of his collection is not fully known, but it is said that it contained over 800 volumes. The Ottoman manuscripts are important

⁴ Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmet II. ye Ait Eserler* (Ankara, 1953), p. 20.

⁵ Full bibliography on Sultan Mehmed II appears in Babinger's work given in note 3 and in his *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1959). Also see the article on "Mehmed II" in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, pp. 506-535.

⁶ Babinger, *Belleten*, p. 42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

in the study of illuminations of the period. Equally important are the motifs and materials used in bookbindings, some of which are covered with local or imported fabrics, others in leather, tooled and gilt. The manuscripts also provide a few names of calligraphers in addition to those appearing on the *wakfs* of the Sultan.

Illustrated Manuscripts

There exists only one illustrated manuscript which predates the reign of Mehmed II, the *Iskendername* of Ahmedi in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 309), executed in Amasya in 1416. This work has been accepted by many scholars as the earliest illustrated Ottoman manuscript, but upon close examination it is seen that only three among its twenty miniatures are contemporary with the date given in the colophon. The remaining images reflect two different styles and have been cut out from fourteenth-century Persian works and pasted into the book.⁸

The original three miniatures are painted directly on the pages and, together with the filled-in sections around the pasted fragments and the wide borders, are the only scenes which belong to the manuscript.⁹ As all the paintings are badly damaged, it is difficult to determine the stylistic features of the indigenous miniatures. They

are very primitive in execution and composition with three or four riders placed on blue or green grounds speckled with gold (*fig. 1*).

However, the *Iskendername* presents two significant points: primarily, while there was a demand for illustrated books, qualified painters were scarce; secondarily, the Paris manuscript is the first attempt to illustrate Ahmedi's work, only three years after the death of the author.¹⁰ Since there were no prototypes which could be used, the artist was forced to employ fourteenth-century *Shahname* fragments which must have been the only group of images related to the story. In one instance he attempted to create three scenes relying on his limited talents, possibly because he could not locate the appropriate material or his supply of Persian miniatures had been exhausted.

The oldest illustrated manuscript from the reign of Mehmed II, recently brought to light by Ivan Schoukine, is the *Dilsizname* of Badi al-Din al-Tabrizi in Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS. Ouseley 133).¹¹ The colophon states that the manuscript was made in 1455–56 in the old capital of Edirne, which was still frequented by the Sultan although the court had moved to Istanbul at this time. It is with this work that the first dateable and identifiable Ottoman miniatures appear.

The manuscript contains five miniatures

⁸ The first group consists of seven miniatures which reveal the mid-14th century style of Ilkhanid paintings commonly associated with the small *Shahnames* (fols. 19b, 29a, 75a, 161b, 162a, 202b and 333a). The second group of nine miniatures, almost contemporary with the former, reflects the red background style seen in the works of the Inju dynasty of Shiraz which also reappears in Mamluk paintings (fols. 24a, 45b, 46a, 114b, 121b, 130b, 134b, 149b and 327b). One image combines fragments from both styles (fol. 146a).

⁹ These are on fols. 117b, 295b and 296a.

¹⁰ Ahmedi (d. 1413) completed his work in 1389. It is written in Turkish and based on the *Iskendernames* of Firdausi and Nizami. Ahmedi originally intended to present this work to the Germiyan Emir, Süleyman Shah, but upon the death of the Emir, it was rededicated to Süleyman Çelebi, the son of Bayezit I.

¹¹ Ivan Stchoukine, "Miniatures Turques du Temps de Mohammad II," *Ars Asiaticus*, vol. 15 (1967), pp. 47–50.

which display rather simplified compositions. As previous illustrations of this text did not exist to serve as models, the painter created the scenes specifically for this work.

The most unusual miniature is the first one in the manuscript in which a man and a woman are depicted flanking a hill (*fig. 2*). Three of the ensuing scenes employ an identical composition in which the folio is divided into two portions: on the left there is a garden with large rose bushes and on the right two figures sit inside a pavilion. The walls of the pavilion are covered with hexagonal tiles and a curtain is draped across the top and sides (fols. 62b, 74b, and *fig. 3*). The fifth image alters this arrangement slightly: a group of figures appear on the left with an enthroned personage on the right (*fig. 4*).

The only comparable style of painting reminiscent of these miniatures is the fifteenth-century Turkman school of Shiraz. Although the painter must have been familiar with this tradition, he has formulated his own compositions and elements, particularly the tiled backgrounds, figures (especially the women), and certain landscape features (such as large blooming roses and birds). All the images reveal the same handling and motifs, making it clear that they were produced by one artist.

The only other illustrated manuscript from the period of Mehmed II, the *Cerrahiye-i Ilkhaniye* of Sharaf al-Din in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 693), may not be of any aesthetic interest to the art historian.¹² This work, executed in 1465, bears a dedication to the reigning Sultan. It is very likely that the manuscript was pro-

duced in Amasya as the author, Sharaf al-Din (1404–68), a native of that city, wrote his treatise there.

The miniatures of the *Cerrahiye-i Ilkhaniye*, although extremely simplified with only the essential figures performing the medical cures specified in the text, are of importance in representing the only illustrated version of this work. The compositions are very primitive and repetitious with the doctor figure, wearing a white beard, on the right, treating a patient facing him, at times accompanied by an assistant (*figs. 5 and 6*). There is no indication of a setting; floral sprays, trees, or vases with blossoms are used as fill-ins in several scenes.

Like the *Dilsizname*, the *Cerrahiye-i Ilkhaniye* is a unique work, executed by a single hand. The crude and provincial quality seen in the paintings of both manuscripts is indicative of the fact that the painters, having no prototypes to follow, had to rely upon their own resources to illustrate contemporary texts.

Regardless of the poor aesthetic quality of the two manuscripts from the reign of Mehmed II, the artists must be credited with originality and creativity, if not with outstanding performance, for having made the first local attempts at illustrating manuscripts.

It is rather significant that these two Ottoman works are not derivative or based on traditional examples. One could speculate that perhaps the imperial libraries at this time were devoid of, or had a limited amount of, illustrated books and the painters could not find the appropriate models to follow. It is in the reign of the ensuing Sultan, Bayezid II, that we find strong Persian and Turkman influences, which indicate that the royal libraries had begun to

¹² P. Huard and M. D. Grmek, *Le Premier Manuscrit Chirurgical Turc rédigé par Charaf ed-Din (1465)* (Paris, 1960).

expand and to include a variety of works from the East.

The fact that the first two illustrated Ottoman manuscripts were done in the old established centers of Edirne and Amasya rather than in the new capital also suggests that the royal painting atelier had not yet been founded in Istanbul or at least was not fully in operation in the 1450s and 1460s.

Before we discuss the paintings of the Istanbul court artists a survey of the Italians who visited the capital is necessary as their works are closely related to the existing local images.

Italians in the Court

The presence of Europeans in the Istanbul court has been dramatized in the past, and the influence of Italian painters has often been overly exaggerated. It is known that Mehmed II sent requests for portraitists to three Italian states, Rimini, Naples and Venice, but with one exception, there is no documentation of the actual presence of Western painters in the court, and there is not a single work by that artist in Istanbul.

The earliest Italian artists seem to be two diplomats, Giovanni Dario and Ciriaco d'Ancona, who were not only involved with commercial and political missions but also in collecting antiquities. They sketched ancient sites within the Ottoman Empire for their own collections around 1450–60.¹³

There is a group of some eighteen Florentine engravings in the so-called Fatih Album in Istanbul (Topkapı Palace Museum, H 2153) which date around 1460–

80.¹⁴ Their subjects range from copies after Pollaiuolo's *Hercules and the Hydra* and themes inspired by classical mythology to scenes representing the lives of the Christian saints. It is rather interesting that the whole group is from Florence, and its dating coincides with the activities of the Florentines in the Istanbul court. There is no indication that the local artists were influenced by these engravings or tried to copy any of the motifs and themes found in them.

The first cultural exchange which was not very successful, occurred in 1461 when Mehmed II requested a portraitist from Sigismund Pandolphe Malatesta of Rimini. Matteo de Pasti, a painter and medallist, was dispatched with a letter of introduction and a copy of *De re militari*, both written by Robert Valturio.¹⁵ Unfortunately, before Matteo could reach Istanbul he was caught in Candia by the Venetians, accused of taking strategic maps to the enemy and brought to trial on charges of espionage. This obviously referred to the drawings of military machines and devices in Valturio's book and was an excuse on the part of Venice to prevent Ottoman relations with the other Italian states. Although released, Matteo did not renew his journey to Istanbul and returned to Rimini in the following year.

There have been suggestions that Matteo made a medal of Mehmed II, but there is no evidence of this work. However, there exists one medal attributed to him, badly re-tooled by Jean Tricaudet of Selongey

¹⁴ Most of these engravings are published in A. M. Hind, "Italian Engravings, Fifteenth-Century, at Constantinople," *The Print Collectors Quarterly*, vol. 20 (1933), pp. 279–296.

¹⁵ Babinger, *Belleten*, pp. 77–78. G. F. Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini* (London, 1930), p. 37.

¹³ Babinger, *Belleten*, pp. 42 and 47.

who was living there in 1460.¹⁶ Until an undamaged copy is found, we cannot associate this specimen with the one said to have been made by Matteo. To our knowledge he did not visit Istanbul nor make a medal of the Sultan.

There have been attempts to identify Matteo de Pasti with a painter mentioned by Ali, Maestro Paolo, who was a student of Damiano. But since there is no record of Matteo's visit to Istanbul nor any evidence of his Oriental associations, it is not possible to verify the connection.

The second European master believed to have been in Istanbul is Costanza da Ferrara. This time Mehmed II asked for an artist from the King of Naples, Ferdinand of Aragon, who sent him the painter-sculptor.

The reference to Costanza's visit is found in a letter dated 1485, written by the Ferrarese ambassador at the court of Ferdinand to his daughter, Duchess Eleonora d'Este.¹⁷ It is probable that the invitation was extended in 1478 when the eight-year wars between Naples and Mehmed II were concluded with a peace treaty which left Venice alone to face the Ottomans. An exchange of embassies took place at that time, and Costanza might have joined the group sent to Istanbul by Ferdinand. It would seem unlikely that Mehmed II would request a painter from his enemy before this date.

The only proof of Costanza's activities in Istanbul is a signed medal of Mehmed II which exists in two versions: an undated one and several copies of another dated 1478.¹⁸ Therefore, Costanza must have

been in Istanbul sometime between 1478 and 1481. He is recorded as being back working in Naples by 1485.^{18a}

The medal (12 cm. in diameter) shows a bust of the Sultan wearing a large turban wrapped around a fluted cap and a *kaftan* under a fur-collared coat (*fig. 8*). The profile is sharply rendered, and the beard stops just below the chin. On the reverse there is an equestrian portrait of Mehmed II, attired in the same outfit and holding a mace. This work is very close to a portrait in the Topkapı album which reveals identical garments (*fig. 9*). The ear bent under the weight of the turban, a glimpse of the under-shirt at the neck, and the shaven underchin are the same in both. The painting is larger (26 × 22 cm.) and shows more of the torso with the left arm visible to the wrist.

The album portrait represents the Sultan set against a gold ground, wearing a white *kavuk* with a red cap, a green *kaftan* under a dark coat trimmed with a wide deep-brown collar. The turban and the face with soft shading are original, but the garments have been repainted. The original portions are definitely by a European hand. It falls within the genre of typical Italian Renaissance portraits, documenting the official personage with his physical characteristics clearly represented.

There is also a copper engraving similar to this portrait, illustrating a sixteenth-century Italian work on Ottoman history.¹⁹ The image is reversed as usually occurs in prints and shows more of the torso (*fig. 7*). The rendering is coarser, and there are discrepancies in the garments (the coat here

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 1202 on p. 309 and pl. 198.

¹⁷ Basil Gray, "Two Portraits of Mehmet II," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 61 (July, 1932), p. 6.

¹⁸ Hill, *A Corpus*, nos. 321 and 322 on p. 80 and pls. 51 and 52.

^{18a} *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁹ This portrait is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and is closer to the medal in size (17 × 13.5 cm.). See A. Sakisian, "The Portraits of Mehmet II," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 74 (April, 1939), p. 178.

is sleeveless and collarless) and in the insertion of a scepter in the Sultan's hand.

The employment of a gold background in the Istanbul painting is typically Eastern, and it is feasible that an Ottoman artist finished a portrait bust sketched by Costanza by filling in the colors. Obviously, there must have been several such sketches since one found its way to Italy to serve as a model for both the medal and the engraving, while another was kept in the Palace.

There is more precise documentation of the visit of Gentile Bellini.²⁰ He was by far the most well-known of the European artists sent to Istanbul and had a very reputable position as the official painter of Venice. Nevertheless, in the annals of Western painting, he is not thoroughly studied, and a complete analysis of his works has yet to be made. There are very few signed and dated paintings by Bellini, the most important of which are the portraits of Lorenzo Guistiniani (dated 1465, in Venice, Accademia) and of Mehmed II (dated November 25, 1480, in London, National Gallery).

Gentile Bellini received considerable recognition within his own lifetime. He was knighted and made Court Palatine by Emperor Frederick III in 1469; in 1474 he was appointed official painter of the Republic of Venice, assigned the task of repairing the paintings in the Ducal Palace, and made the portraitist of the Doges (*fig. 10*).

When the peace treaty between the Ottomans and the Venetians was signed in 1479, there followed an exchange of diplomatic and commercial embassies. Mehmed II wrote to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo ex-

tending an invitation to the wedding of his son and requesting a painter who specialized in portraiture. The Doge regretfully declined the invitation but dispatched his official painter, Gentile Bellini, to the Sultan's court in Istanbul.²¹ Bellini was entrusted not only with an artistic mission but also with a delicate diplomatic one.

Bellini's visit to Istanbul is related by Jean-Marie Angiolello in his *Historia Turchesca* which covers the years 1429–1513.²² Bellini left for Istanbul on September 1479 and may have stayed until the end of 1480 or beginning of the following year.²³ He was probably back in Venice by the time of Mehmed II's death in May 1481.

Hardly anything remains of Bellini's work in Istanbul: the only known portrait being the one in London and an undated but signed medal of the Sultan which was probably struck upon his return to Venice. We have no other evidence of Bellini's activities in Istanbul.²⁴ He may have left behind many sketches, drawings, and completed paintings, and perhaps even painted murals in the Topkapı Palace as he did in the Ducal Palace in Venice. What happened to them is a mystery. Angiolello mentions that Bayezid II had Bellini's works sold in the bazaars after the death of his father, but this hardly seems likely as

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²² Angiolello was in the service of Mustafa, one of the sons of Mehmed II, and accompanied the prince in his campaigns in the East against Uzun Hasan of the Akkoyunlus. Upon the death of Mustafa in 1474 Angiolello retired to Istanbul where he observed the activities of Bellini in the court. His work is in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. It. 1238. See also Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini*, pp. 17–19.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁴ The drawing of the Column of Theodosius, said to have been designed by Bellini, bears no proof of this attribution. For a reproduction see Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini*, pl. following p. 42.

²⁰ This subject is thoroughly discussed in L. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II* (Paris, 1888).

Bayezid II himself was an ardent supporter of the arts.

The medal by Bellini (*fig. 11*) shows the Sultan in profile on the obverse with three crowns on the reverse.²⁵ The portrait does not appear as powerful as the one executed by Costanza. This work was the model for a single half-scale one as well as another undated medal made by Bertoldi di Giovanni of Florence, who added a pendant around the neck of the Sultan.²⁶ The latter should be contemporary with the medals of Costanza and Bellini.

The portrait of Mehmed II in London, unlike the medals and the album painting attributed to Costanza, is a three-quarter view.²⁷ The Sultan faces left and wears the identical garments seen above (*fig. 12*). Painted on canvas ($27\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ cm.), the figure is placed under an ornate arch with three sets of crowns on the corners as depicted in the medal. A richly adorned tapestry hangs on the parapet. The date appears on the right, while the remains of the inscription on the left give the names of Mehmed II and Gentile Bellini.

As this portrait is almost entirely re-

painted, its original state cannot be determined. It may not even be by Bellini but by a follower who either used one of his sketches or copied a painting which is now lost. If the painting can be proven to be by Bellini, then he must have painted this portrait upon his return to Venice, using his drawings and inscribing the date when Mehmed II actually sat for him. It is doubtful that the Istanbul portrait could have left the Palace and been taken to Venice as the imperial possessions were zealously guarded.²⁸

There are references to two portraits once owned by Paolo Giovio in his museum at Como which were described in his *Vitae illustrium virorum*.²⁹ When this work was reprinted a woodcut reproduction of a portrait of the Sultan appeared, probably made from the original.³⁰ It shows a medallion with the figure in profile, holding a rose in his right hand and what could be a handkerchief in his left. This painting appears to be related to the London portrait, an image in Istanbul of the Sultan holding roses³¹ and the Costanza portrait. The original Giovio painting is now lost but it proves that there were several such representations of Mehmed II in Italy.

What we possess of Bellini's Oriental experiences are a group of drawings and a

²⁵ It has been suggested that the crowns represent the empires of Konya, Byzantium and Trebizond. Hill, *A Corpus*, no. 432 on pp. 113-114 and pl. 82.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 911 on p. 239 and pl. 147. Bertoldi's medal adds an allegorical scene on the reverse with the Sultan standing on a chariot drawn by two horses, led by Mars; three nude crowned female figures stand behind (Greece, Trebizond and Asia); finally two figures recline in the exergue (the Sea and Earth). There are three additional medals of Mehmed II, one attributed to Pisanello and the other two made in the 16th century. For these see Hill, *A Corpus*, nos. 1201, 1202 and 1204 on pp. 308-309 and pl. 198.

²⁷ The portrait was purchased by Sir Henry Layard in 1865 from a person who stated that he obtained it in Venice from the Venturi family. Martin Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools* (London, National Gallery, 1961), p. 52.

²⁸ The London portrait was used as a model for other works, as an engraving which is in London and a 19th century painting by Zorano in the Topkapı Palace Museum. For reproductions see Öz, *Topkapı*, figs. 72 and 74.

²⁹ Giovio (1483-1552), a humanist employed by the Medici, was a collector of antiquities and author of several histories on contemporary distinguished figures. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini*, p. 33.

³⁰ This work was published by Perna of Basel in 1575 and 1577-78. For reproductions see Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini*, pl. following p. 32 and Gray, "Two Portraits," pl. B.

³¹ See figure 24.

few paintings attributed to him, most likely copies made by his students and followers. The sketches show Ottoman types: a seated Janissary (*fig. 13*), a seated woman (*fig. 14*), two standing Orientals (*figs. 15 and 16*), a woman lifting her veil (*fig. 17*), a turbaned figure (*fig. 18*), another man with a long coat (*fig. 19*), and finally a standing woman (*fig. 20*).

These meticulously detailed drawings are rendered in pen and ink. Two among them, both representing women, have color notations written on the images (*figs. 14 and 20*). It is possible that Bellini made paintings of Ottoman types during his stay in Istanbul and that these are copies of them. These drawings could also be sketches for paintings which were never executed or are no longer in existence.

Regardless of whether the drawings were made by Bellini, they provide insight into various Ottoman types from the end of the sixteenth century with clear representations of their garments. It is not possible to determine whom they represent—important personages of the court or just types which attracted the attention of the painter.

One of the paintings attributed to Bellini is the *Two Orientals* in Chicago, possibly executed by one of his followers (*fig. 21*). It shows two officials in right profile, wearing the Ottoman *kavuk* and *kaftan* with a collar, decorated with fifteenth-century Venetian motifs. Both figures have strong profiles and are based on some familiarity with the Turks. Perhaps they represent two of the members of the Ottoman mission sent to Venice in 1479.³²

Another celebrated portrait generally

³² When the 1479 treaty was signed an Ottoman embassy of some twenty dignitaries was sent to Venice. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini*, p. 10.

believed to be by Gentile Bellini presents a number of problems. The painting was once part of an album compiled for Sultan Ahmed I around 1600, containing drawings, Islamic miniatures, European and Far Eastern paintings. Sultan Abdülaziz (1861–76) gave the album to an Ottoman dignitary whose sons broke up the collection and sold various leaves individually. In 1905 F. R. Martin purchased one group of some seventy images including a portrait of an Ottoman youth by a European painter.³³ This portrait was obtained by Jack Gardner from Martin and is now in the Gardner Museum in Boston (*fig. 22*). It has been published numerous times as the work of Bellini finally discovered in Istanbul by Martin.³⁴

The painting represents a seated scribe (18×14 cm.) with an unrelated Persian poem pasted on the back. The youth sits crosslegged; he holds a pad on his knees and, resting his left hand across the top, writes with a pointed pen. He is placed in a garden with soft and faded greenery on

³³ The group purchased by Martin contained thirty European engravings, thirty-two Oriental miniatures, a Western portrait, and several Japanese and Chinese paintings. He published about half of the Oriental miniatures in F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (London, 1912), pp. 59–60; *figs. 21 and 36*; *pls. 34, 51, 63, 81, 84, 85, 93, 106, 107, 120, 225 and 269*.

³⁴ F. R. Martin, "A Portrait by Gentile Bellini Found in Constantinople," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 9 (June, 1906), pp. 148–49, *illus. on frontispiece*.

F. Sarre, "Eine Miniatur Gentile Bellinis," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 27, no. 4 (Oct., 1906), pp. 302–306.

F. Sarre, "The Miniature by Gentile Bellini Found in Constantinople Not a Portrait of Sultan Djem," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 15 (June, 1909), pp. 237–38.

Martin, *Miniature Paintings and Painters*, pl. 225.

Sir Philip Hindy, *Catalogue of Exhibited Paintings and Drawings*, (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1931), pp. 30–34.

the ground indicating grass and flowers.

The figure fills the entire page, but as the painting has been remounted with a new border, it may have been trimmed. The most obvious European feature is the light which comes from the back of the sitter, casting shadows on his head, hands and on the pad that he holds. The figure bears a large white turban and an embroidered coat worn over a *kaftan*, belted with several sashes of multicolored stripes. The head shows delicate handling with curly hair escaping from the turban, an ear pressed down under the turban, and slight traces of a moustache, suggesting his early manhood.

The layering of the sashes and the rendering of the turban are very Western as well as the folds of the *kaftan* sleeves which closely resemble the treatment in the drawings (*figs. 13 and 14*). The outfit worn is typically Eastern. This type of coat with a pointed collar is unique in Sultan portraits and in the existing *kaftans* of Mehmed II at the Topkapı Palace; yet there is a jacket that belonged to Mehmed II cut in this style.³⁵ The same style appears in the drawings of the Ottomans (*figs. 13, 15 and 16*) and in the Chicago painting (*fig. 21*) and was probably more common among the dignitaries in the court.

The bunch of flowers on the upper left is a later addition as well as the vertical strip on the upper right with the Persian inscription *amal-i ibn müezzîn ki ez üstandan-i meşhur frenk est* ("the work of the famous Frank master, the son of the müezzîn"). The inscription is written directly on the album leaf, and the image was cut to fit this strip then pasted on the page. Therefore, the inscription dates from the time

the album was assembled, around 1600.

Sarre has suggested that "ibn müezzîn" is an erroneous transcription of Gentile Bellini's name from Greek into Turkish.³⁶ This is difficult to accept since it is hardly likely that a Turkish calligrapher would copy a phrase which was not comprehensible to him. The identification of the portrait as being by the hand of a "Frank master" must have made sense to the calligrapher, but the "son of the müezzîn" is meaningless, unless the memory of the European painters who were in Istanbul over a century earlier had faded and fact had sufficiently mixed with fiction in time to nationalize a Western artist who visited Istanbul. It appears that in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Frank master became related in one way or another with the Ottoman world.

Any definite association with Gentile Bellini based on the inscription can be eliminated, and the most that can be said is that the Gardner painting is a singular portrait of a young member in the Palace, executed by a European who was acquainted with the Ottoman court. The artist was most likely an Italian, but his true identity has yet to be solved. The portrait fits into our period as it is only under Mehmed II that several Europeans worked at the Ottoman court. As the specific style of Gentile Bellini itself is not determined, any attribution to him would be purely hypothetical, especially if it were based upon comparison with his known portraits (*fig. 10*).

The Istanbul School

The earliest reference to the Istanbul

³⁵ Öz, *Topkapı*, fig. 63.

³⁶ Hindy, *Catalogue*, p. 32.

artists working for Mehmed II appear in Ali's *Menkıb-ı Hünerveran*. Ali gives several names, such as Maestro Paolo mentioned above, as well as those of his pupils, Sinan and Baba Nakkaş. The only archival reference to Sinan is that he, Nakkaş Sinan, purchased a farm in 1491; a tombstone discovered in Bursa also bore his name.³⁷ Baba Nakkaş, also referred to by Evliya Çelebi, is said to be the chief painter of the studio under both Mehmed II and Bayezid II. The other painters mentioned are Husamzadeh Sunullah, who worked for both Murad II and Mehmed II, Baba Mustafa, Safi, Rahmi Balıoğlu, and a student of Sinan called Ahmed Siblizada of Bursa. No work still extant can be associated with these names.

The first positive indications of a royal *nakkaşhane* in Istanbul appear in an album of calligraphy and drawings at the Istanbul University Library (F 1423).³⁸ It must have been compiled toward the end of the reign of Mehmed II, as the latest date given in the album is 1481.

³⁷ Meriç, *Türk Nakış*, p. 73 for the document dated 1491 and Öz, *Topkapı* p. 26 for the tombstone discovered in Bursa.

³⁸ A. S. Ünver, *Fatih Devri Saray Nakışhanesi ve Baba Nakkaş Çalışmaları* (Istanbul, 1958).

³⁹ Similar motifs appear in early Ottoman blue-and-white ceramics; in tiles from the Muradiye and Üç Şerefeli mosques in Edirne, mausoleum of the mother of Mehmed II in Bursa, court panel in the Fatih Mosque and tiles in the Çinili Köşk in Istanbul; woodwork in the Hazine portals of the Topkapı Palace Museum; stucco in the Raht Hazinesi in the Topkapı Palace Museum and Çinili Köşk; and paintings in the tombs of Cem and Mustafa Atik in Bursa.

⁴⁰ The images in Istanbul, known for over forty years, have excited the art world for some time. In 1930 Sir Charles Holmes published a letter in *The London Times* in which he announced that Martin had discovered four remarkable portraits in Istanbul (Sir Charles Holmes, "Portraits of Gentile Bellini," *The London Times* [July 12, 1930]). In the same year

The writings are drafts of historical events, poetry, and dedications to the Sultan which were to be copied and presented to Mehmed II. The drawings are of considerable interest since they reveal identical motifs utilized by contemporary artists in the decoration of architecture, ceramics and manuscripts.³⁹

Although there is no contemporary documentary evidence of an imperial workshop in the palace archives, this album proves that there was a local "design studio" whose style was indigenously Ottoman and whose themes were subsequently employed in the the adornment of various arts.

The four single portraits assigned to the Istanbul court were executed by local artists or, in some cases, perhaps were a joint effort. None of these portraits is signed nor dated. Two are in albums in the Topkapı Palace,⁴⁰ the third in the Freer Gallery of Art, and the last in a private collection.

One of the paintings in Istanbul resembles the portrait attributed to Costanza (fig. 7). The figure is in profile with the same

a brief article describing the paintings shown to Martin by Halil Edhem, the director of the Topkapı Palace Museum, appeared ("Portraits of Gentile Bellini Discovered in Turkey," *Art News*, vol. 28 [Aug., 1930], p. 14). Two years later Basil Gray analysed two of these portraits (Gray, "Two Portraits," pp. 4-6), and later Sakisian wrote an article, discussing the paintings and the problem of Western artists visiting Istanbul (Sakisian, "The Portraits," pp. 172-181).

One of these four portraits is the Constanza painting discussed earlier; another is the Sultan with the roses often attributed to Sinan; the third is in album B 408; and the last is a Florentine engraving of a Byzantine Emperor. This image had been incorrectly identified as *El Gran Turco*, but is actually the portrait of John Palaeologus VIII, based on the medal done by Pisanello when the Emperor visited Ferrara in 1438. For the medal see Hill, *A Corpus*, no. 19 on p. 7 and pl. 3; for the engraving, Öz, *Topkapı*, fig. 82.

sharp nose, the trademark of the Ottoman house; but the chin is completely covered by a long and wavy beard (*fig. 23*). The ears bend under the turban whose folds are very stylized and pronounced. The floral *kaftan* has a double collar which is close to the style seen in the Gardner portrait, the Italian drawings, and the Chicago image. This painting, cut shorter than the Costanza portrait, is also retouched (it measures 26×19 cm.). Although the face and turban seem authentic, the garment and possibly the lower part of the beard are latter additions. The collars have been clumsily added so that their relation to the neck is most awkward. The strong line of the profile, schematic treatment of the beard and turban, and the position of the eye indicate an Oriental hand. It is possible that the Ottoman painter worked on a Western sketch which showed only the face and turban and added the finishing touches to the best of his ability, or simply copied the Costanza portrait.

The second painting, the Sultan with the roses, is in the same album as the Costanza portrait (*fig. 24*). It is often attributed to the painter named Sinan, but there is no basis for this identification. Slightly larger than the previous image (39×27 cm.), this portrait shows the Oriental translation of the European works, especially the London portrait (*fig. 12*). Wearing the usual turban and *kaftan* under a fur-collared coat, we see the Sultan holding a handkerchief in one hand, bringing a bunch of small roses toward his nose with the other. This portrait in contrast to the above examples, which are all bust portraits, shows the full figure seated cross-legged. The face is clearly drawn and follows the three-quarter view seen in the London painting. Even the folds

of the turban, jutting right eye, awkward profile of the nose, lips, and chin, the beard and bent ear are the same. Shading of the facial features also indicates a close relation with its Western model.

The remaining portions are purely Oriental even though a voluminous feeling is given to the torso. The arms are not quite attached to the body; crossed legs diminish and are squashed together as if to fit into the lower portion of the page; the folds of the bodice, sleeves, and legs are very much schematized. This form of patternization of drapery also appears in the Costanza portrait, precisely on the repainted areas. It is obvious that a bust sketch, like the London painting, was used as a model. Could the model have been one of Bellini's works which was still in the Palace at the time, with the artist faithfully following the upper half, and relying on his own ingenuity, composing the lower?

What the Turkish painter has done to the basic elements of Renaissance official portraiture, adding the full body in a sitting position, is of utmost significance to the history of Ottoman painting. It is this formula which will be utilized in the future genealogical manuscripts with portraits of the sultans, so popular a century later. Here the scheme for sultan portraits makes its first appearance, based on Western models but translated into the Ottoman idiom. This will be the one and only direct influence of the Renaissance on Ottoman art.

We are more fortunate with the portrait at the Freer Gallery (*fig. 26*) as its model, the Gardner scribe (*fig. 22*), is easily accessible. According to the indispensable source, Martin, this miniature was shown to him by Vignier in Paris with a group of

images brought from Persia.⁴¹ It was purchased by the Freer Gallery in 1932, and the museum records indicate that it was formerly in the collection of Jacques Doucet of Paris. This image, like the Gardner painting, has excited the art world for some time, especially because of the existence of an inscription which gives the name of Behzad.⁴²

The Freer portrait is identical in size and pose to the Gardner scribe (13×19.1 cm.) varying about one centimeter in dimension due to the cutting of the images when they were pasted into albums. When they are superimposed, the outlines fit perfectly, indicating that the Freer miniature is a traced copy of the Gardner one, the only alterations being the details as decorative motifs and colors applied to areas within the general outline.

The hair of the Freer youth is straight,

⁴¹ F. R. Martin, "New Originals and Oriental Copies of Gentile Bellini Found in the East," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 17 (April, 1910), p. 5.

⁴² Following is a partial bibliography of this painting:

Ibid., pp. 5–6, illus. on frontispiece.

Martin, *Miniature Paintings and Painters*, pp. 91–93, pl. 225.

F. Sarre, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910* (Munich, 1912), vol. 1, pl. 27.

G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniature Persanes Exposées au Musée des Arts Décoratifs* (Paris, 1913), vol. 1, pl. 9.

A. Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane du XII au XVII Siècles* (Paris, 1929), p. 79, pl. 55.

René Grousset, *The Near and Middle East* (London, 1931), fig. 202.

A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* (London, 1938–39), vol. 3, p. 1865; vol. 5, pl. 890.

O. Galerkina, "On Some Miniatures Attributed to Behzad in the Leningrad Collections," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 8 (1970), p. 128, fig. 21.

Esin Atil, "Ottoman Art at the Freer Gallery," *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları*, vol. 4 (1971), pp. 187–188, fig. 2.

and the face shows slight shading omitting any directional lighting. As seen in copies, the neck does not fully relate to the collar, the back of the coat above the sashes appears to jut out too roughly, and the arm resting on the pad is awkward. A handkerchief is added at the waist as the copyist did not understand why the sashes of the Gardner scribe did not touch the elbow. In the Gardner image, the longer sleeves and the folds of the skirt camouflage this area. The cross-legged position is also misunderstood with the leg in front higher than the other. Extra ripples appear at the hem and the three-dimensional quality of the pad is lost, becoming a flat slab. Although there is nothing on this pad in the Gardner miniature, the Freer artist needs a clarification of the activity and hence shows a painting of a man.

The coat was originally painted red as seen in places where the top layer of pigment has flaked off. In its present condition, it is blue with tiny gold fishes forming a diagonal grid pattern with the floral motifs on the shoulders and torso incomplete.

The garments of the Freer portrait resemble those seen in Turkman paintings with embroidered motifs on the bodice and shoulders. It is possible that the image was repainted around 1500 when Ottoman miniatures reveal a strong Turkman influence and similar garments.⁴³

The seal and the inscription on the lower left were added at a later date. The seal could be read either as: *Gulam (al) Jafer Zal bin Mehmed* or *Gulam Al-i Muhammed Jafar Zal* whose identity has not yet been

⁴³ The fish pattern also appears on the garments in the miniatures of the *Khosrau and Shirin* by Hatifi, dated 1498 and made in Istanbul. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 69.27, fols. 2a and 67b.

ascertained. It may have belonged to the Persian owner.

The inscription *surat al-abd Behzad* ("painted by the slave Behzad") has confused many scholars who made the mistake of taking it at face value. Behzad's style and that of this image are so far apart that they need not be discussed here. It is naturally a later attribution of the same type as seen on various other images which also cannot be by the hand of the famous Herat painter.

It should be mentioned that similar figures are seen in the Persian world about the same time. One painting often used in comparison is the Leningrad album page with a scribe, almost identical to the ones in the Gardner and Freer collections.⁴⁴ This type of figure, in profile with one knee up supporting his pad, is an independent development of the usual scribes encountered in many Persian works, especially in *madrasah* scenes in the stories of *Mihr u Mushtari* and *Laila u Majnun*, and cannot be related to the Western or Ottoman world.⁴⁵

Since we do not know when the Freer image left Istanbul we cannot state that it was directly responsible for any of the contemporary Persian figures. If any association has to be made, it is more conceivable that a Persian scribe such as the one in the Leningrad album affected our artist who used a Western model but combined it with the element of one knee bent up as seen in the East.

One cannot identify the hand of the

artist who painted the Freer portrait. The only definite fact is that a Western artist executed the Gardner image which was incorporated into an album in the Palace and that the Freer image, which faithfully copied it, is the work of a quite talented local painter of Eastern origin. The Freer portrait was likely included in an album which in time was dispersed, and this particular painting found its way to Persia.

The last portrait in this group⁴⁶ has no prototype and consequently is the most problematic of all (*fig. 26*). It represents a man with a thin moustache wearing a green turban (22.5 × 15.4 cm.). The fragmentary inscription on the left reads *mevlana . . . al-Din* and three digits which may be interpreted as 113. As this portion is damaged and erased, it is impossible to give a definite reading. The "*mevlana*" mentioned could refer to the famous Jalal al-Din, yet the figure does not wear the *sikke*, tall felt cap, of the *mevlevis*, but the green *kavuk* of the *seyyids*. Therefore, the inscription is a later attribution and not the correct identification of the figure.

The face depicted in three-quarter view is exceptionally powerful and individualized. Fine lines are used in the bushy eyebrows, straight eye-lashes and in the thin moustache. The strong contour of the face and nose, and the wrinkles on the forehead, around the eyes and mouth definitely suggest that this is a representation of a specific personage and not of a type. Although the turban, garment, and possibly parts of the face are retouched, the power of the original drawing comes through.

The linear quality in the rendition of

⁴⁴ Galerkina, "Miniatures," pl. 6.

⁴⁵ There are several examples of this figure type, for instance in a ca. 1560 Shiraz miniature in the Fogg Art Museum (no. 1922.75), a portrait of the painter Shafi al-Abbasi at the Freer Gallery of Art (no. 53.17b), and a scribe formerly in the Martin Collection (Martin, "New Originals," fig. 1).

⁴⁶ This portrait also comes from Martin and was acquired by him during the early years of the 20th century.

features, awkward positioning of the neck in relation to the shoulders, and the handling of the turban point to an Oriental hand. But some question remains as to whether this artist was the creator of the image or whether he copied a sketch originally made by a Westerner. Ottoman portraits in this period were strongly influenced by, if not directly copied from, the existing European works in the Palace. The model for the portrait of the *seyyid* has not yet been discovered, but it is highly probable that this image is either painted over a sketch made by a European or is a copy of a Western image executed in Istanbul. There are rumors that frescoes were painted by Bellini and others in the Topkapı Palace. Whether this portrait is related to such murals can be little more than a speculation.

The hypothetical model was likely to have been made by an Italian during the reign of Mehmed II, but just when the portrait of the *seyyid* was executed cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

Only one of the paintings from this period, the London portrait, bears a signature and date, and even its authenticity is dubious. Almost all of the portraits, executed by both Italians and Ottomans show traces of repainting. Many Europeans were in Istanbul during the sultanate of Mehmed II, yet the names of just two painters are preserved, Costanza da Ferrara and Gentile Bellini. Costanza is almost unknown except for the medal of the Sultan which brought him recognition. Bellini is also not one of the eminent Renaissance artists, and a majority of his works are merely attributions. An absolute identification of any of the portraits made at the Istanbul court by either artist is questionable since their styles are not fully determined.

It is tempting to place all four Ottoman portraits discussed above in the latter years of the reign of Mehmed II, about 1478–81. It is during these years that we have positive references to Italians working in the court which would have inspired the local artists. These images could only have been done at a time when there was a strong motivation in executing portraits of the reigning Sultan. Interest in this genre seems to halt with the accession of Bayezid II and does not resume again for another century. It is not until the era of Murad III that a serious and conscientious interest in portraiture appears in the genealogical representations of the House of Osman. Stylistically, the most influential portrait for these representations will be the album painting which depicts the seated figure of the Sultan (fig. 23).

Unfortunately, only a small portion of the works of the period are still extant. There must have been several sketches and finished paintings in Istanbul which might have helped to construct a more concrete picture of early Ottoman painting. The Constanza and Gardner portraits were easily accessible to the local painters, and there must have been some works of Bellini as well.

The existence of other portraits is clearly expressed in the *Kıyafet al-İnsaniye fî Şemâil al-Osmaniye* of Lokman, who completed the the first genealogical manuscript of the Ottoman sultans in 1579. There are several copies of this work and two, painted by Osman, bear this date.⁴⁷ In the introduction, it is stated that both the author and

⁴⁷ Topkapı Palace Museum, H 1563 and Istanbul University Library, F 6087. The summary of the introduction is published in Nurhan Atasoy, "Nakkaş Osman'ın Padişah Portreleri Albümü," *Türkiyemiz*, vol. 2, no. 6 (Feb., 1972), pp. 2–14.

painter were faced with a difficult task as the representations of the sultans were not easily accessible. They searched and located past portraits, some of which were owned by the Franks, which they were able to obtain through the aid of the Grand Vizier. Upon comparison of those dating from the reign of Murad III with the personages they depicted, it was found that the paintings were accurate. Then they determined the garments, physical characteristics, and mannerisms of the sultans from past and present histories, and started to work on the manuscript.

This introduction is invaluable on several points: first, it substantiates that there were a number of portraits which could be found, owned by both foreigners and Ottomans; second, no serious attempt had been made prior to Lokman's work in assembling these portraits which indicates that they were singular achievements; finally, a serious search was undertaken not only to locate the portraits which were considered documentary evidences but also for contemporary literary sources which were studied, compared with the portraits and authenticated.

The oldest portraits of the sultans discovered by Lokman and Osman should be those of Mehmed II. In the 1579 manuscript the image of Mehmed II is reminiscent of the album painting with the rose, both represented in three-quarter view facing left (*fig. 27*). Yet in the sixteenth-century painting the hands holding the flower and handkerchief have been reversed, the ear is pronouncedly bent under the *kavuk*, and the garments differ, following the fashion of their periods.

Literary sources state that Mehmed II wore a large *ulema kavuk* with a red cap,

a green *kaftan*, and a deep-red coat trimmed with a dark fur collar.⁴⁸ All the contemporary portraits of the Sultan discussed above have these garments and headdress with occasional variation in color.⁴⁹

The existence of a portrait of the Sultan in the Gulistan Palace Library should also be mentioned (*fig. 28*). As the garments are characteristic of those worn by Mehmed II, there is no reason to attribute this image as representing any other personage, even though the turban fabric is in the Safavid style. It was either executed in Persia, based on a portrait previously sent there, or was made in Istanbul, using a model similar to the one in which the Sultan holds the roses, and then subsequently taken East.

Conclusion

Portraiture, the only Western impact on Ottoman art, was premeditated in the sense that it was initially brought in by a special imperial demand and in time adapted to the needs of the state, becoming Turkified. Sultan Mehmed II deliberately introduced the art of portraiture which was a totally new concept in the Ottoman world. With the models provided by the visiting Italians, the court artists tried their hands at this genre which was not seriously taken up until the end of the sixteenth century. What happened in the interval, the Islamization of Ottoman painting, can best be comprehended by the study of the reign of Beyazid II and the eastward orientation of his successors. The preoccupation with Western societies and their culture is rather singular

⁴⁸ Emin Çenkmen, *Osmanlı Sarayı ve Kiyafetleri* (Istanbul, n.d.), p. 33.

⁴⁹ The only exception is the portrait in album B 408, but here the garments have been completely repainted.

with Mehmed II. Although Beyazid II is said to have invited Michelangelo to Istanbul and Berlinghieri dedicated his *Geographia* to him, the westernization of the empire virtually ceases with the death of Mehmed II.

Bayezid II was the more ardent advocate of the arts and it is likely that a majority of early Ottoman albums were compiled for him, as H 2153⁵⁰ and the sketch book in the Istanbul University Library. Even the *Cerrahiye-i Ilkhaniye*, although bearing the customary dedication to the reigning Sultan, was probably supported by him when he was a governor in Amasya. Bayezid II, truly an Ottoman sultan either by nature or by external circumstances of his troubled reign, would not or could not pursue the path taken by his father.

This brief opening to the West resulted in eclectic and unique series of portraits whose only virtue was that they lead to the representation of the physical characteristics of the sultans and the documentation of

their reigns which will become the most outstanding features of Ottoman painting.

Its counterpart, the Ottoman impact on Renaissance Europe, is far more pronounced with an increased interest in Oriental motifs as visible in the later paintings of Bellini and his followers,⁵¹ Pinturicchio's frescoes in the Borgia apartments in the Vatican and in Carpaccio's works.⁵² It was also a natural and spontaneous movement in opposition to the enforced one seen in the Ottoman world. By the sixteenth century Turkish figures become common in European painting whereas the European is a rare occurrence in Ottoman art. This lack of interest in Western culture will continue up to the eighteenth century at which time the Ottoman world will begin to concern itself with European art once again.

⁵¹ See for example the *Sermon of St. Mark in Alexandria* (Milan, Brera) by Gentile Bellini, and the *Reception of the Venetian Ambassador, Domenico Trevisara, in Cairo in 1512* (Paris, Louvre) by one of his followers.

⁵² A survey of these works appears in Hermann Goetz, "Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 73, part 1 (Aug., 1938), pp. 50-64; part 2 (Sept., 1938), pp. 105-115.

⁵⁰ The latest date in the album is 1483 which falls within the reign of Bayezid II.



Fig. 2.—Majnun sees the NIGHTINGALE. Badi al-Din, *Dilisizname*, dated 1455-56. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ouseley 133, fol. 49r.)

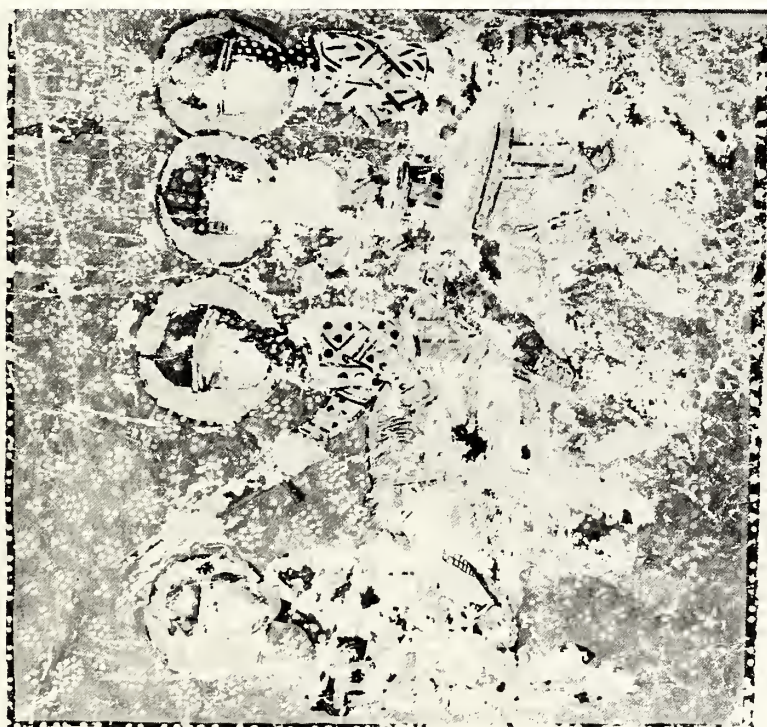


Fig. 1.—FOUR RIDERS. Ahmedi, *Iskendername*, dated 1416. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 309, fol. 296a.)



FIG. 4.—ENTERTAINMENT OF SHAH NEVRUZ. Badi al-Din, *Dilsizname*, dated 1455–56.
(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ouseley 133, fol. 80v.)



FIG. 3.—COUPLE SEATED IN A PAVILION. Badi al-Din, *Dilsizname*, dated 1455–56.
(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ouseley 133, fol. 62r.)



FIG. 5.—HEALING OF THE DISLOCATION OF THE BIG TOE. Sharaf al-Din, *Cerrahiye-i Ilkhaniye*, dated 1465.
(Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 693, fol. 201b.)



FIG. 6.—HEALING OF THE DISLOCATION OF THE SHOULDER. Sharaf al-Din, *Cerrahiye-i Ilkhaniye*, dated 1465.
(Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 693, fol. 193a.)



FIG. 7.—PORTRAIT OF SULTAN MEHMED II.
Engraving, 16th century. (From T. Öz.)



FIG. 8.—MEDAL OF SULTAN MEHMED II BY Costanza
da Ferrara, dated 1481. (From T. Öz.)



FIG. 9.—PORTRAIT OF SULTAN MEHMED II, attributed to Costanza da Ferrara.
(Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H 2153, fol. 145b.)



FIG. 10.—PORTRAIT OF DOGE GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, attributed to Gentile Bellini.
(Copyright, Frick Collection, New York.)



FIG. 11.—MEDAL OF SULTAN MEHMED II, by Gentile Bellini. (From T. Öz.)



FIG. 12.—PORTRAIT OF SULTAN MEHMED II, by Gentile Bellini, dated November 25, 1481. (London, National Gallery, no. 3099.)



FIG. 13.—DRAWING OF A SEATED JANISSARY.
(London, British Museum, no. W/P 73.)



FIG. 14.—DRAWING OF A SEATED WOMAN.
(London, British Museum, no. W/P 74.)



FIG. 15.—DRAWING OF A STANDING MAN.
(Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, no. 3956.)



FIG. 16.—DRAWING OF A STANDING MAN.
(Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, no. 3957.)



FIG. 17.—DRAWING OF A WOMAN LIFTING HER VEIL. (Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. Bequest of Charles Alexander Loeser.)



FIG. 18.—DRAWING OF A MAN WITH A TURBAN. (Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, no. 4655.)



FIG. 19.—DRAWING OF A MAN WITH A LONG COAT. (Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, no. 4653.)



FIG. 20.—DRAWING OF A STANDING WOMAN. (Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, no. 4654.)

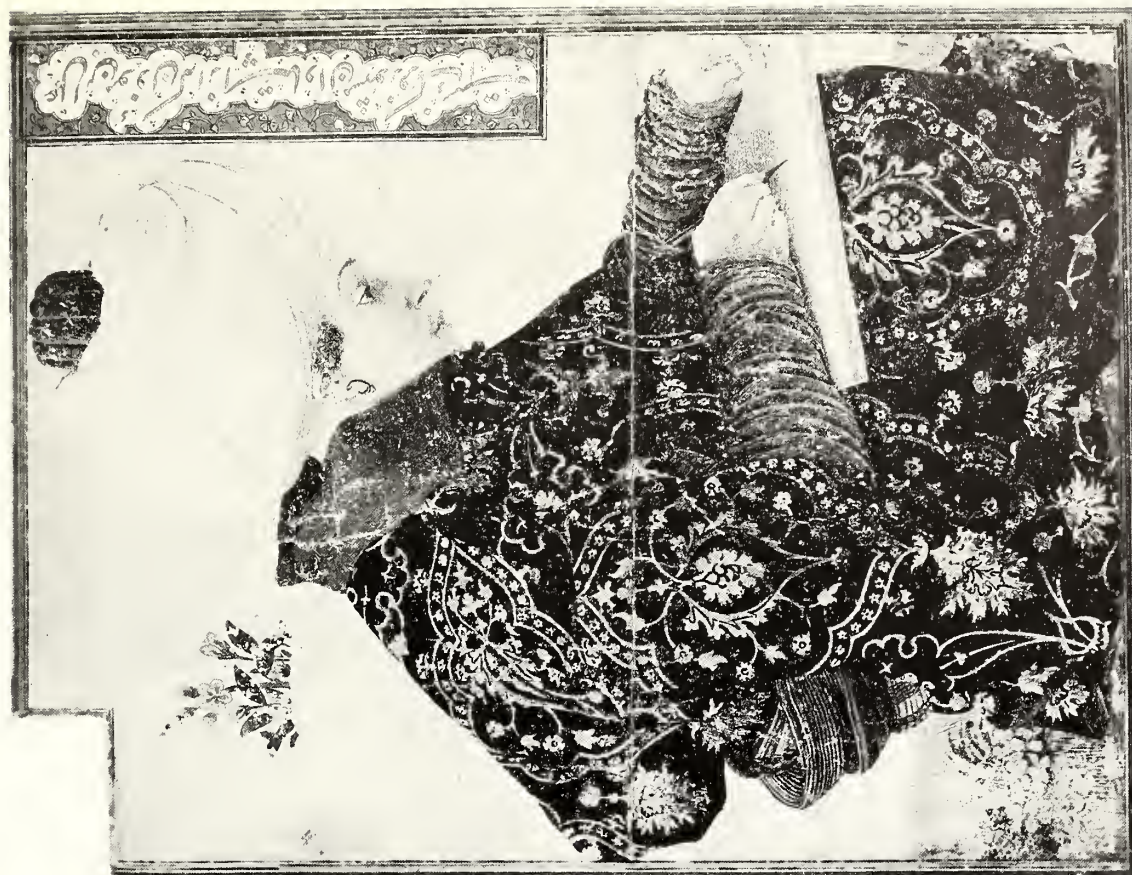


FIG. 22.—PORTRAIT OF A TURKISH SCRIBE.
(Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.)



FIG. 21.—TWO ORIENTALS.
(Courtesy, Art Institute of Chicago.)

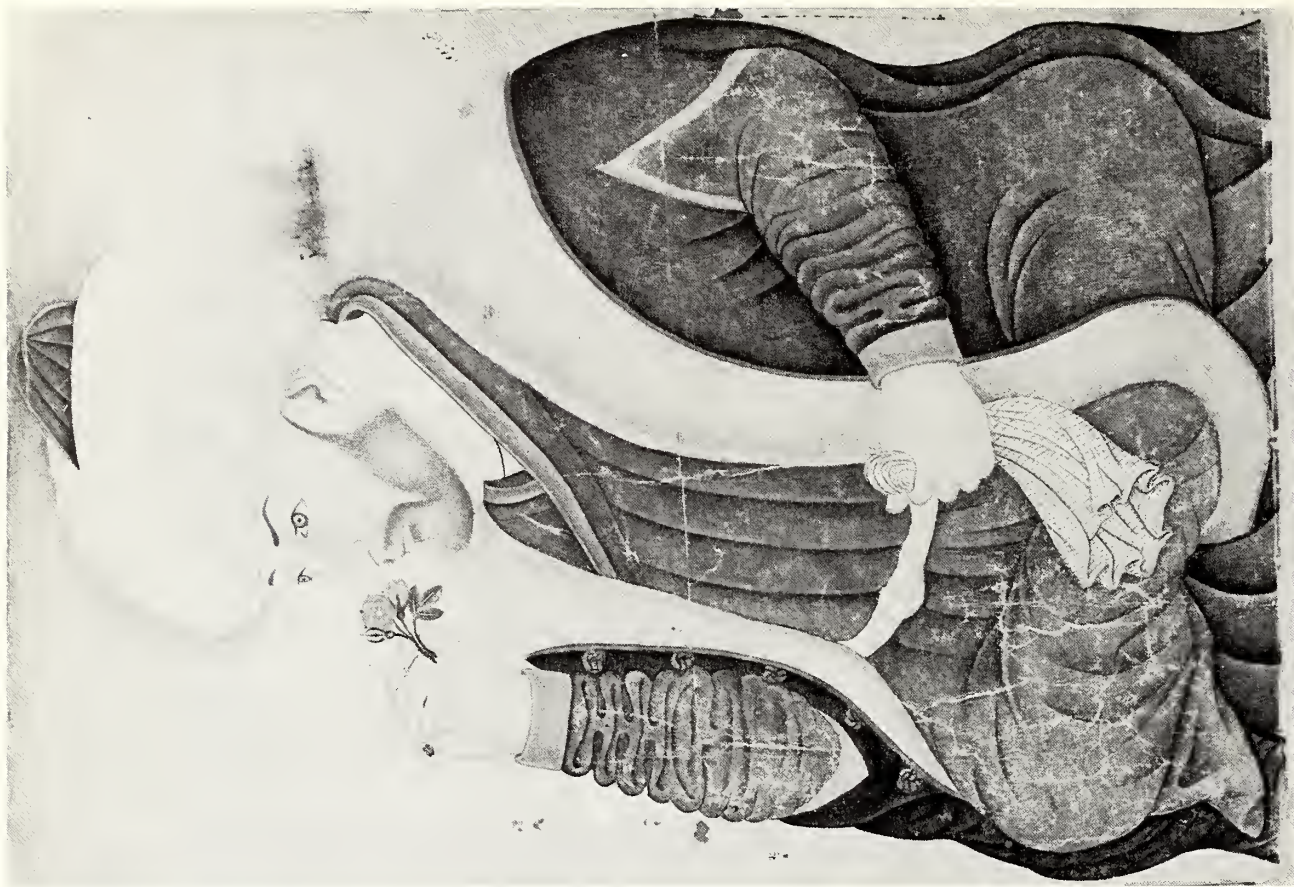


FIG. 24.—PORTRAIT OF SULTAN MEHMED II WITH ROSES.
(Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H 2153, fol. 10a.)



FIG. 23.—PORTRAIT OF THE SULTAN.
(Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, B 408, fol. 15b.)



FIG. 26.—PORTRAIT OF A MAN WEARING A GREEN TURBAN.
(Private collection.)



FIG. 25.—PORTRAIT OF A TURKISH PAINTER.
(Freer Gallery of Art, 32.28.)



FIG. 28.—PORTRAIT OF THE SULTAN.
(Tehran, Gulistan Palace. From T. Öz.)



FIG. 27.—PORTRAIT OF SULTAN MEHMED II. Lokman, *Kiyafet al-Insaniye*
fi Şemai al-Osmaniye, dated 1579.
(Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum. H 1563, fol. 396.)

SUNG AND YÜAN MONOCHROME LACQUERS IN THE FREER GALLERY

BY HIN-CHEUNG LOVELL*

IN RECENT YEARS, A NUMBER OF CHINESE lacquers attributed to the Sung and Yüan dynasties have come to light in Japan and some of them were acquired by museums and collectors in the West.¹ These pieces have no decoration of the types found on already familiar Chinese lacquers, such as painting on late Chou and Han lacquers and carving and inlaying on Ming and Ch'ing lacquers. Strictly speaking, they have no decoration at all apart from the foliated rims and the occasional fluted sides which are inherent in the shapes of the vessels. This group of lacquers had been in Japan for a long time, and their survival there is no doubt due to the kind of aesthetics which treasured and made a cult of Chinese *temmoku* wares and certain types of Lung-ch'üan celadon.

The Freer Gallery acquired five such pieces of lacquer between the years 1967 and 1970 (*figs. 20, 22, 24, 27 and 30*). Before discussing them, it is necessary that we examine the available evidence for undecorated lacquers of these periods.

There is no lack of archaeological evidence for Sung lacquer. Finds of Sung lacquer were reported from the late Northern Sung site of Chü-lu 鉅鹿 in Hopei province which was submerged by floods from the Yellow River in A.D. 1108.² Unfortun-

ately, the digging at the site was uncontrolled, and the lacquers unearthed soon disappeared from the scene and were understood to have gone into European collections. At the exhibition of "The Arts of the Sung Dynasty" held by the Oriental Ceramic Society in London in 1960, there were assembled five pieces of lacquer: an inscribed bowl on high foot from the Musée Guimet; a dish from the Musée Cernuschi; a much damaged cup-stand and an intact small dish from the British Museum; and a cup-stand from the Victoria and Albert Museum.³ The Cernuschi and the British Museum pieces are said in the catalogue to have come from the site of Chü-lu. Although no such designation accompanies the Guimet bowl, it is so similar in style to the Cernuschi bowl that they probably have a common provenance and possibly had a common sojourn at Chü-lu.

The Guimet cup has an inscription written in large, gangling characters around the lower portion of the exterior. The inscription has not been deciphered with certainty, with the exception of the cyclical year *ping-wu* 丙午, in the 1066/1006 series.⁴ The style of the calligraphy, the location and placement of the inscription are all typical of many lacquer vessels excavated from Sung tombs, as we shall see below.

pp. 259-261.

³ "The Arts of the Sung Dynasty," in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 32 (1959-60), p. 51, nos. 10-14, and pl. 11.

⁴ Although a Romanized version of the inscription is given in the Sung Exhibition catalogue, *ibid.*, I am not certain enough of its decipherment to give the characters.

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¹ M.-P. David, "Un Laque Chinois d'Époque Song," in *Revue du Louvre*, XVIII^e Année, n° 3 (1968), pp. 157-159; "Museums and Exhibitions," in *Oriental Art*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Spring, 1968), p. 58.

² Hin-cheung Lovell, "Notes on Chü-lu Hsien," in *Oriental Art*, vol. 16, no. 3 (Autumn, 1970),

The cup-stand belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum has since the 1960 exhibition been discussed by John Ayers.⁵ Around the inside of the cup was found an inscription written in red lacquer. It reads: "Chia-hsü T'an-chou T'ien-ch'ing-kuan tung Huang hsiao wu tsao chi 甲戌潭州天慶觀東潢小五造記," and is translated by Ayers as: "In the cyclical year chia-hsü at T'an-chou in/by the T'ien-ch'ing monastery east. Huang the fifth junior made and recorded." T'an-chou is identified as Ch'angsha 長沙 in Hunan province where many Ch'u lacquers of the late Chou period had been found.

We tread on more solid ground as we come to the excavations carried out in the 1950s and 1960s. There have been several instances of discovery of Sung lacquer reported in Chinese publications in the past two decades; the most substantial is undoubtedly from a group of five tombs at Yang-miao Chen 楊廟鎮, a town about four miles southwest of Huai-an 淮安 in Kiangsu province.⁶ The five tombs were excavated by the Nanking Museum in November, 1959, and they yielded 75 pieces of lacquer which were restored to 72 pieces. The first tomb, a single-chamber tomb containing two coffins and presumably the tomb of a married couple, had written on its lintel the date "Chia-yu wu nien 嘉祐五年," corresponding to the year A.D. 1060. The six coins found near the coffins are of

Northern Sung reigns ante-dating 1060, but one coin found near the tomb's sealing brick is of the reign of Hsi-ning 熙寧 (1068–77). The most plausible explanation is that 1060 was the date of the first burial, and a second interment took place somewhat later, at the demise of the spouse. This means that the date 1060 cannot, strictly speaking, serve as the *terminus ad quem* of the lacquers found in the tomb. However, the latest possible date for the contents of the tomb should be no more than twenty or thirty years after 1060.

The second tomb of the Yang-miao Chen group contained a burial tablet with an engraved epitaph stating that the tomb was that of Yang Kung-tso 楊公佐, an inspector of taxes in Chekiang and Hupei who died in the first year of the reign of Shao-sheng 紹聖, corresponding to A.D. 1094.

The five tombs at Yang-miao Chen are interrelated by such common features as orientation, structure, the use of both timber and bricks as building materials, and the occurrence of frescoes of similar subject matter and style. Furthermore, the lacquer objects recovered from them appear to be of a homogeneous style, there being no marked differences between the finds from the two dated tombs and those from the three undated ones. For these reasons, we may consider the lacquers as a group, datable to the eleventh century.

The 72 pieces can be broken down as follows: dishes, 27; bowls, 15; alms bowls, 2; boxes, 9; jars, 5; saucers, 2; combs, 4; mirror box, 1; cylindrical holder, 1; low bench, 1; scroll rollers, 2; brush-rest, 1; paper-weight, 1; fragments showing textile base, 2. Whereas many of the toilet articles and those for use in the study have only a

⁵ John Ayers, "A Sung Lacquer Cup-stand," in *Bulletin of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, vol. 1, no. 2 (April, 1965), pp. 36–38.

⁶ A preliminary report on the tombs is in "Chiang-su Huai-an Sung-tai pi-hua mu 江蘇淮安宋代壁畫墓," in *Wen-wu*, 1960, nos. 8–9, pp. 43–51. The lacquers are described and discussed by Lo Tsung-chen 羅宗真 in "Huai-an Sung mu ch'u-t'u ti ch'i-ch'i 淮安宋墓出土的漆器," in *Wen-wu*, 1963, no. 5, pp. 45–53.

wood base, 52 of the 58 vessels have a base reinforced with fabric. The majority of the pieces are lacquered black throughout, but a small number of pieces have an exterior or interior wall or a base of a different color, usually dark brown but occasionally brownish red. The dishes, which range from 9 to 12 cm. in diameter, have either six or ten foliations on the rim. The bowls, which range from 12 to 18 cm. in diameter and from 5 to 8.5 cm. in height, have six foliations on the rim, often pronounced. Some of the finds are reproduced in *figure 1*.

Nineteen of the 72 pieces are inscribed (*figs. 2 and 3*); and in each case, the inscription is written in red. Some of them consist of a single character, some a place name and a surname; but the fullest ones follow the formula employed on Han dynasty lacquers in giving a cyclical year, a place name which presumably was the place of manufacture, and a personal name.⁷ An example is: "Mou-shen Wen-chou K'ung San-shu shang-lao 戊申温州孔三叔上牢" (*fig. 3, no. 2*). Even the phrase *shang-lao* goes back to Han usage. The primary meaning of *lao* 牢 being "to secure," "to hold captive," the phrase may, in the lacquer context, be taken to refer to the process of making layers of lacquer adhere securely to the base and to each other. It is interesting to note that the inscription in *figure 2, no. 5*, is in exactly the same form as that on the Victoria and Albert Museum cup-stand.

The three locations which emerge from the material excavated at Yang-miao Chen as centers of lacquer manufacture are

Hangchou 杭州 in Chekiang province, Wen-chou 温州 (the present-day Yung-chia 永嘉) on the south coast of Chekiang, and Chiang-ning Fu 江寧府 (the present-day Nanking) in Kiangsu province. The Chinese practice of frequently changing place names serves, in this instance, to lend supporting evidence for the Sung date of this group of lacquer. The name of Hangchou was in use only until 1129 when it was changed to Lin-an 臨安, that of Wen-chou until 1265, and that of Chiang-ning Fu only from 1018 to 1129.

Less numerous but no less good in quality are the lacquers recovered in 1965 from a Sung tomb at Shih-li-p'u 十里鋪, near Wuhan 武漢 in Hupei province.⁸ Nineteen pieces were found, all in a good state of preservation, together with 71 coins, ranging over many Northern Sung reigns to Ta-kuan 大觀 (1107–10). The nineteen pieces consist of four bowls, two dishes, two cup-stands, two large hemispherical "alms bowls," one confectionary box, four boxes, one basin, one spittoon-shaped vessel, one comb, and one measure. Some of these finds are reproduced in *figures 4 and 5*. According to the report, all the pieces have a relatively thin wood base. The lacquer is usually reddish black, achieved by putting a layer of black lacquer over a layer of red. This can clearly be observed in places where the top black layer has flaked off to reveal the red underneath.

Only two of the six inscribed pieces give a place name, and in both cases the name is Hsiang-chou 襄州. This must refer to the Hsiang-chou in Hupei province which during the T'ang and Sung dynasties

⁷ Y. Harada, *Lo-lang, A Report on the Excavation of Wang Hsü's Tomb in the Lo-lang Province* (Tokyo, 1930), p. 25, pls. LVI–LIX.

⁸ The Hupei Cultural Bureau, "Wu-han Shih Shih-li-p'u Pei-Sung mu ch'u-t'u ch'i-ch'i teng wen-wu 武漢市十里鋪北宋墓出土漆器等文物," in *Wen-wu*, 1966, no. 5, pp. 56–62.

was renowned for its lacquer products.⁹

A third group of Sung lacquers are the several pieces recovered from Sung tombs at Wu-hsi 無錫, Kiangsu province (*fig. 6*).¹⁰ The name Hangchou occurs in the inscriptions of two of the articles.

The last hoard of Sung lacquer to be recorded was recovered from four Sung tombs at Lao-ho-shan 老和山, near Hangchou (*fig. 7*).¹¹ In one of the tombs were three lacquer bowls of diminishing sizes ranging from 18.5 to 17.5 cm. in diameter, obviously a set; one of them is reproduced in *figure 7a*. They have written in red around the exterior an inscription reading "Jen-wu Lin-an Fu Fu chia chen-shih shang-lao 壬午臨安府符家眞實上牢." On the basis of all the finds the report gives the date of the burial as early Southern Sung. Since the name of Hangchou was changed to Lin-an in 1129, the cyclical year *jen-wu* in the inscription probably refers to the year 1162.

Regrettably, in spite of the considerable amount of archaeological finds of Sung lacquer, we are not yet in a position to formulate regional styles. Nor do there appear to be any marked differences between the Yang-miao Chen finds which are in all likelihood pre-1110 and the bowls inscribed "Lin-an," probably datable to 1162. This is partly because we have not seen or handled the actual finds. While the illustrations in the excavation reports do give a good idea of the shapes of the objects, they cannot convey the colors, the weight and the

general "feel" of the pieces. Even working within the framework of what data we have, namely, the shapes, we are thwarted in our attempt to determine if a recurrent shape, such as the one in *figures 1g* and *4a*, is associated with any one provenance, because of the relatively small number of pieces inscribed with place names.

So far, we know of lacquers from Hangchou (nine pieces excavated at Yang-miao Chen, two pieces at Wu-hsi, one at Lao-ho-shan), from Wen-chou (two pieces excavated at Yang-miao Chen), from Nanking (two pieces excavated at Yang-miao Chen), from Hsiang-chou (two pieces excavated at Shih-li-p'u), and from Ch'ang-sha (the Victoria and Albert Museum cup-stand). It should be noted that all five places lie in a belt in central China between the latitudes 28° and 32° north. No doubt the lacquer tree found the climatic conditions most favourable there during the period with which we are concerned.

In his preface dated 1927 to the *Hsiu-shih lu* 髹飾錄, Chu Ch'i-ch'ien 朱啟鈴 states: "Most of the best Northern Sung artisans worked at Ting-chou 定州 [in Hopei province]. In *k'o-ssu*, porcelain and lacquer the quality [of Ting-chou products] was superb. After 1127, the artisans went south, and the lacquerers of Chia-hsing 嘉興 [in Chekiang province] inherited the position formerly occupied by Ting-chou."¹² The statement is unsubstantiated by any older source.^{12a} In *Ch'i shu* 漆書, Chu Ch'i-ch'ien's own book

⁹ *T'ang shu* 唐書, *chüan* 40:4a (1739 edition); *Sung shu* 宋書, *chüan* 85:19a (1739 edition).

¹⁰ Chu Chiang 朱江, "Wu-hsi Sung mu ch'ing-li chi-yao 無錫宋墓清理紀要," in *Wen-wu ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao*, 1956, no. 4, pp. 19-20.

¹¹ Chiang Ts'uan-ch'u 蔣繼初, "T'an Hang-chou Lao-ho-shan Sung mu ch'u-t'u ti ch'i-ch'i 談杭州老和山宋墓出土的漆器," in *Wen-wu ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao*, 1957, no. 7, pp. 28-31.

¹² *Hsiu-shih lu* is a text in two *chüan* on lacquer by the Ming dynasty lacquerer Huang Ch'eng 黃成 who was active in the reign of Lung-ch'ing (1567-72). In 1625, another lacquerer Yang Ming 楊明 wrote a commentary on it. The text survived in Japan and was published for the first time in China in 1927, with an introduction by Chu Ch'i-ch'ien.

^{12a} The statement probably results from a misunderstanding of an unclear sentence in *Sung hui yao*

on lacquer, there is no longer any mention of Ting-chou as a center of lacquer manufacture.^{12b}

Judging from the Yang-miao Chen finds, Hangchou was already a thriving center of lacquer manufacture in the latter half of the eleventh century. The same may be said of Wen-chou, as attested to by that invaluable and fascinating book *Tung-ching meng-hua lu* 東京夢華錄. Written in 1147 by Meng Yüan-lao 孟元老, who lived in K'ai-feng from 1103 to 1127, the book is a detailed street-by-street description of the Northern Sung capital. Among the shops listed was one which sold "lacquers from Wen-chou."¹³ The lacquers of Hsiang-chou were celebrated and there are contemporary references to them.¹⁴ The Ch'ang-sha provenance of the Victoria and Albert Museum cup-stand is viewed with some scepticism by John Ayers because of the long distance between Ch'ang-sha and Chü-lu. I am inclined to accept it, for just as Wen-chou lacquers travelled 600 miles to K'ai-feng, so it is conceivable for Ch'ang-sha lacquers to have found their way to Chü-lu, localities separated by approximately the same distance. The impression to be gained from a perusal of *Tung-ching meng-hua lu* is that goods

travelled long distances so long as there was a demand for them.

The adjective "monochrome" in the title of this paper is chosen advisedly. The lacquers under discussion are conceived in the same spirit and have the same appeal as the monochrome ceramic wares of the Sung dynasty. Their similarities are such as to justify the borrowing of the adjective from the one medium to be used on the other.

The most significant resemblance is, as to be expected, in the shape of the vessels. Considering the differences in technique, the resemblance is remarkable. Starting with the pieces said to have been unearthed at Chü-lu, the Guimet lacquer bowl (*fig. 8*) with lobed sides and pronounced foliations on the rim has a close parallel in a Ju ware bowl in the Palace Museum in Taiwan (*fig. 9*). Ju was the imperial ware of the Northern Sung court for a short period before the invasion of the Chin Tartars in 1127. The similarity of the two pieces lends strong support to a late Northern Sung date for the Guimet lacquer bowl. The Cernuschi lacquer dish (*fig. 10*) has a ceramic counterpart in Honan black ware in the Kempe collection (*fig. 11*). The multiple foliations on this group of objects are no doubt intended to suggest the chrysanthemum.

The cup-stand in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*fig. 12*) is a very common Sung shape, and has counterparts in Ju (*fig. 13*) and other ceramic wares. The shape also occurs among the lacquers excavated at Shih-li-p'u (*fig. 4c*). The bowl with curved sides, everted lip and six foliations on the rim (*fig. 1g* and *fig. 4a*) has ceramic parallels in *ch'ing-pai* and other wares (*figs. 14* and *15*). The basin with lobed sides (*fig. 4e*) is a shape which appears in Ting ware, an

宋會要. "The [Imperial] Porcelain Repository . . . was supplied with white porcelain and lacquer from Ming 明 [Chou], Yüeh 越 [Chou], Jao Chou 饒州, Ting Chou 定州 and Ch'ing Chou 青州." It can easily be misinterpreted as "both white porcelain and lacquer from all five areas" while its correct meaning is "white porcelain from some of the five [*viz.*, Ting Chou and possibly Jao Chou], and lacquer from some of the five [probably Ming Chou in modern Chekiang and Ch'ing Chou in modern Kiangsu]."

^{12b} Chu Ch'i-ch'ien, *Ch'i shu*, 1957. Limited stencil edition, Peking.

¹³ Meng Yüan-lao, *Tung-ching meng-hua lu*, preface dated 1147 (undated edition), *chüan* 2:1a-b.

¹⁴ See footnote 9.

example of which is in the David Foundation (*fig. 16*).

There are, however, pieces among the Shih-li-p'u finds which approximate more to late T'ang shapes than to Sung shapes. These are the "alms bowl" (*fig. 4f*), the spittoon-shaped vessel (*fig. 5f*) and the basin with wide downward-curving flange rim (*fig. 5e*) whose ceramic prototypes are illustrated in *figures 17–19*. These examples indicate *retardataire* borrowings from late T'ang ceramic shapes.

The first of the Freer lacquer dishes (*fig. 20*) has a ninth-tenth-century flavor about it and may well be another manifestation of the lingering of earlier shapes in Sung lacquer. The dish has five well-defined lobes in the cavetto, lobes which are repeated by the foliations on the rim of the dish and the base as well as by the foot.¹⁵ A brownish-black lacquer covers the dish, and the rim is bound with metal. The foliated foot suggests a metal rather than a ceramic affinity. The features which impart to the dish a feeling of late T'ang and of the Five Dynasties are the curvature of the lobes and the division of the dish into five lobes; cinquefoil and trefoil were popular shapes in this period. A five-lobed dish of similar outline (*fig. 21*) was among the finds from the tomb of Wang Chien 王建 (A.D. 847–918), the founder of the state of Ch'ien-Shu 前蜀 in Szechuan.¹⁶ The silhouette of the Freer dish is not unlike that of the low six-

lobed dish excavated at Yang-miao Chen (*fig. 1f*), and a tentative eleventh-century date is advanced for it.¹⁷

Among the five Freer lacquer pieces the one which approximates most closely a well-known ceramic prototype is the dish with an angular profile (*figs. 22, 22a-b*).¹⁸ The slightly everted sides meet the flat base at an angle. There are six thin raised ridges on the interior, dividing the walls into six segments. Corresponding to these are six slight foliations on the rim which is bound with metal in the manner of Ting bowls and dishes. Exact counterparts of this shape on Ting ware are fairly numerous. There is a remarkable similarity in the profile of the lacquer dish (*fig. 22b*) and a Ting dish in the Freer collection (*fig. 23*).¹⁹ Ting ware pieces such as this are of the classical group and are dated eleventh-twelfth century on the basis of their paste, the ivory color of their glaze, the style of their incised decoration, and their excellent quality. Because of their close similarity to such pieces, lacquer dishes of the type represented by the Freer example may be tentatively dated eleventh-twelfth century as well. The dish is a sombre red color except for the base and the inside of the foot ring which are black. On the base is an inscription which was added in Japan (*fig. 22a*).

The largest of the Freer lacquer dishes (*fig. 24*) is a rich brownish red color.²⁰ A heavily built piece, the dish has a round

¹⁵ Accession number 67.14, diam. 19.6 cm.

¹⁶ Feng Han-chi 馮漢驥, "Ch'ien-Shu Wang Chien mu ch'u-t'u ti p'ing-t'o ch'i-ch'i chi yin-ch'ien-t'ai ch'i-ch'i 前蜀王建墓出土的平脫漆器及銀鉛胎漆器," in *Wen-wu*, 1961, no. 11, pp. 46–48. Originally lacquered on the outside, the dish consisted of a double core, the interior layer being silver and the exterior layer lead; but the lacquer has almost completely flaked off. The silver surface was covered with a thin sheet of gold foil and the decoration was

engraved through to the silver. Parts of the foil were then removed to form a design of contrasting gold and silver.

¹⁷ Lacquer dishes of similar shape are known. The one in the Garner collection (unpublished), having a much heavier appearance, a recessed base and no foot, is obviously later.

¹⁸ Accession number 68.14, diam. 23.6 cm.

¹⁹ Accession number 63.16, diam. 21 cm.

²⁰ Accession number 67.13, diam. 27.4 cm.

base, an unfluted cavetto, and a flat rim with 48 slightly raised foliations on its outer edges, which is bound with brass. There is no foot; and the base, viewed from the outside, is slightly recessed. The shape of the dish is reminiscent of those large Ting ware dishes with molded decoration which are dated thirteenth century. An example, formerly in the Eumorfopoulos collection, is illustrated in *figure 25*. Apart from the fluting of the walls on the Ting dish, the two pieces are remarkably alike. On the basis of this and other comparable examples, a thirteenth-century date is advanced for the lacquer dish.

One factor which contributes to the feeling of heaviness of the lacquer dish is the thickness of the brass-bound rim (*fig. 24a*). It bears a certain resemblance to the thick rim of the saucer part of a *ch'ing-pai* cup-stand in the Victoria and Albert Museum which is dated twelfth-thirteenth century (*fig. 26*).²¹

The absence of a foot appears to be a characteristic of lacquer dishes of the thirteenth-fourteenth century as distinct from those of the two preceding centuries. This feature is shared by the large dish with 48 foliations and the remaining Freer dish (*fig. 27*).²² The latter also has a slightly recessed base. There the resemblance ends, for the dish is as light and delicate as the other is sturdy.²³ Perhaps the most attractive piece in the group, this dish has a flat base, sides fluted in seven foliations and a flat rim with a slightly raised outer edge. There is an undulating quality to the dish because each

foliation consists of two S-shaped curves, and the contour is repeated in the rim as well as the edge of the base. The combination of a beautiful design, the lustrous chestnut color of the lacquer, and the perfect finish makes the dish a pleasure to hold and to behold. It looks, and is no doubt intended to look, like a fully opened lotus blossom.

And here we touch upon an essential difference between the eleventh-twelfth-century example (*fig. 22*) and the lotus dish (*fig. 27*) and, by extension, between the aesthetics of the classical Sung period and what is to follow. Whereas on many eleventh- and twelfth-century pieces, both in ceramics and lacquer, the lobings and foliations are generally discreet and understated, intended no more than to suggest flowers, these feature on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pieces become much more prominent and naturalistic.

In the course of search for shapes in lacquer and other materials comparable to the lotus dish, it became evident that the piece is of Yüan rather than Sung date. The foliated outline of the dish occurs in a four-tiered lacquer box with cover, unearthed from one of a group of Yüan tombs of the Jen 仁 family, dated 1327–51, at Peimiao Ts'un 北廟村, near Shanghai, in Kiangsu province (*fig. 36*).²⁴ The same outline is also to be found in a silver box, discovered in a hoard of 102 pieces of silver

²¹ I am indebted to M. Jean-Pierre Dubosc for drawing my attention to this *ch'ing-pai* cup-stand.

²² Accession number 68.67, diam. 22.2 cm.

²³ The dish is so light as to suggest that the core consists of only fabric and no wood.

²⁴ Tsung-tien 宋典, "Yüan Jen Jen-fa mu-chih fa-hsien 元任仁發墓誌發現," in *Wen-wu*, 1959, no. 11, pp. 25–26. From the information on the burial tablets, we know that the tombs were those of the Yüan painter Jen Jen-fa 任仁發 (1254–1327), of his son Jen Hsien-neng 仁賢能 (1285–1338), and of his nephews Jen Liang-yu 任良祐 (1281–1338) and Ch'en Ming 陳明 (1285–1351), who was adopted by an aunt. Our illustration of the lacquer box is re-

at Ho-fei 合肥, Anhwei province (*fig. 28*).²⁵ One of the pieces can be dated 1333. The most striking parallel, however, is a porcelain dish formerly in the Hobart collection (*fig. 29*).²⁶ Its similarity to the lacquer dish is so close that one is tempted to suggest that one piece may have been directly derived from the other. And since the shape is not a common one in ceramics, one is tempted to speculate further and suggest that the porcelain dish is derived from the lacquer. The white dish has a *Shu-fu*-type body, and the white glaze is tinged with blue. A tentative date of 1300–50 is advanced for both lacquer and the porcelain dish.

The fifth and last of the Freer lacquers is a box (*fig. 30*).²⁷ It has a deep cover which constitutes about two-fifths the height of the entire box and is an integral part of the rather complex design. The gently curved silhouette of the box is constricted below the flat top of the cover and above the recessed base. The sides are lobed in nine foliations, and these are edged by double pewter wires on the top and by single wires around the body which form two ranks of petals, one around the sides of the cover and another around the box. Within the foliate rim on the top are two sets of double wires, the smaller one of which encloses a round plaque of mother-of-pearl decorated with an incised coiled

dragon against a reticulated background. The lacquer is a lustrous black on the exterior and red on the interior and on the base. Stylistically, the box is closely related to the pieces exhibited at the Yüan exhibition in Cleveland.²⁸ Its Yüan date, though not yet supported by archaeological or documentary evidence, seems certain.

In the box we detect two new trends. Firstly, the metal edging, hitherto only round the rim of vessels, is playing a decidedly more important role in the decorative scheme. Secondly, a depth is created in the flat top of the cover to receive a further ornamentation in yet another material, one which contrasts in color with the black lacquer. This is analogous to the biscuit panels with relief decoration on Lung-ch'üan and other Chekiang celadons of the Yüan dynasty.

The underside of the box furnishes an interesting comparison with that of the Freer Yüan lotus dish. In both cases, there is around the recessed base a flat band, circular on the inside and foliated on the outside in the same way as their respective vessels. In the case of the box, because the based is more deeply recessed, the band at first sight looks like a foot, but in reality the band is, in both cases, the extremity of the side of the vessel. The treatment is very similar (*figs. 31 and 32*); any superficial difference is but the result of the more complex shape of the covered box.

The finding of the four-tiered box (*fig. 36*) in a Yüan context is a valuable piece of evidence, for it provides a basis on which we can deduce the relative dating of boxes

produced from *Chiang-su-sheng ch'u-t'u wen-wu hsüan-chi* 江蘇省出土文物選集 (Peking, 1963), pl. 205.

²⁵ Wu Hsing-han 吳興漢, "Chieh-shao An-hui Ho-fei fa-hsien ti Yüan-tai chin yin ch'i-ming 介紹安徽合肥發現的元代金銀器皿," in *Wen-wu ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao*, 1957, no. 2, pp. 51–58.

²⁶ Parke-Bernet sales catalogue of the Richard Bryant Hobart collection of Oriental Ceramics for May 23rd, 1969, no. 104.

²⁷ Accession number 70.26, ht. 15.3 cm., diam. 17.2 cm.

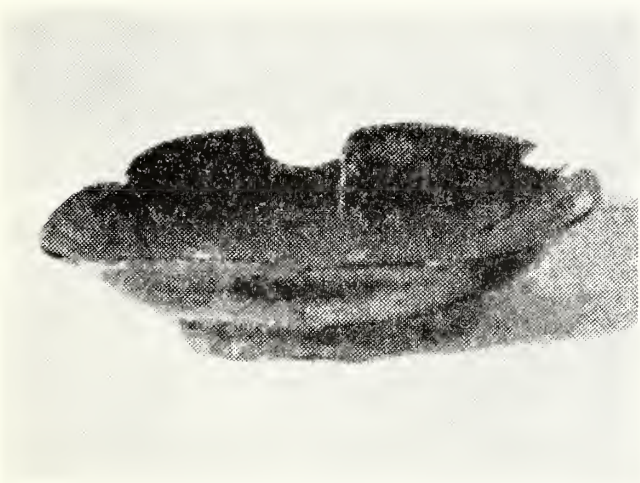
²⁸ Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yüan Dynasty (1279–1368)* (Cleveland, 1968), nos. 283 and 284.



a



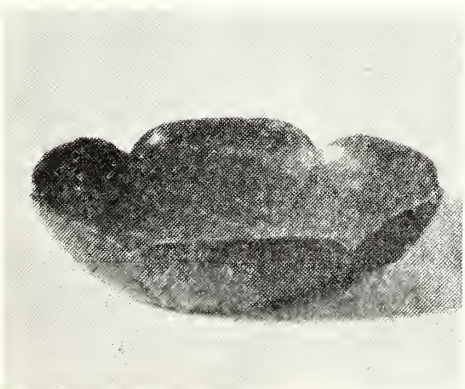
b



c



d



e



f



g

FIG. 1.—Lacquer finds from Yang-miao Chen, near Huai-an, Kiangsu.

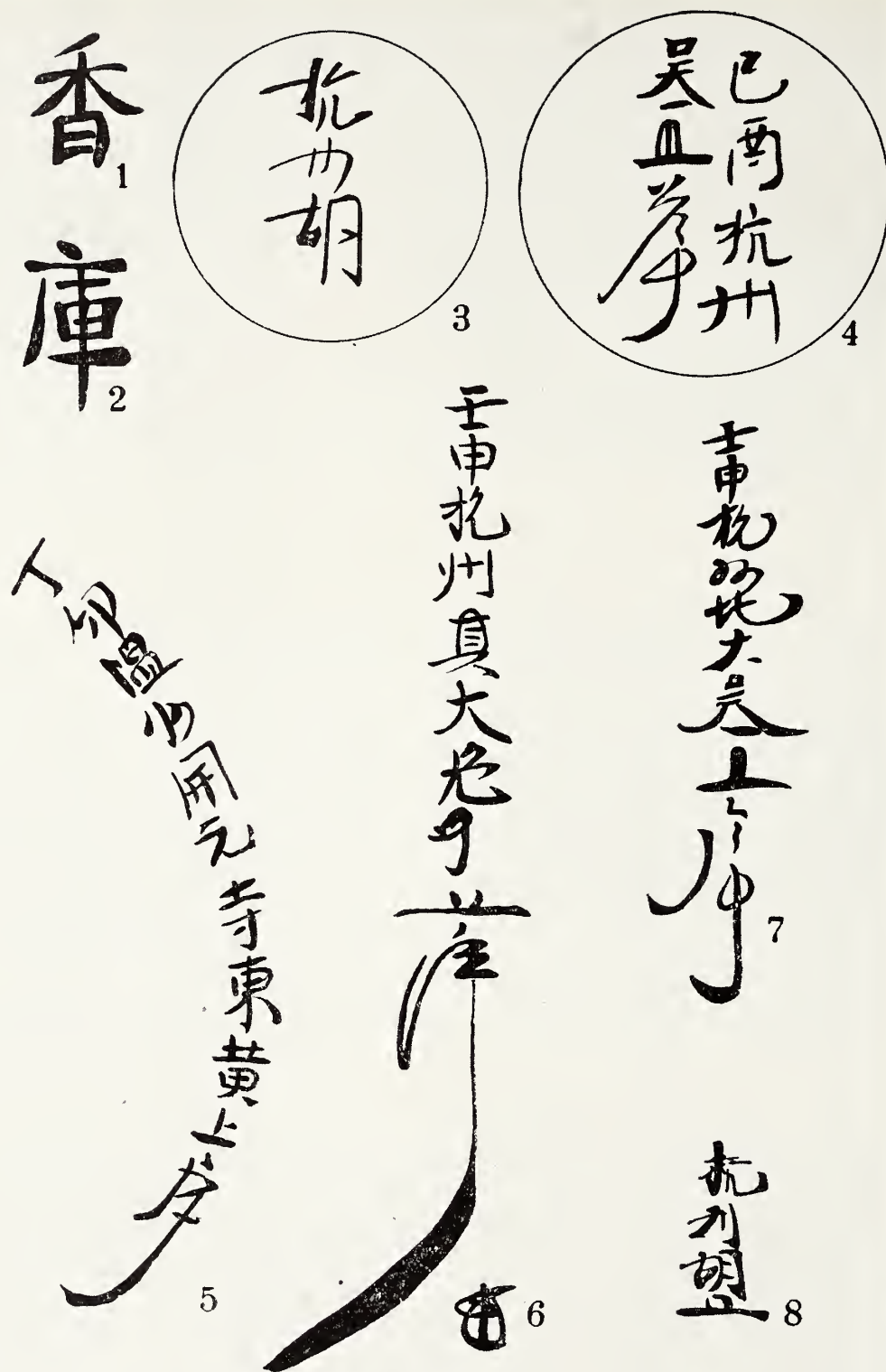


FIG. 2.—Inscriptions on lacquers excavated from Yang-miao Chen, near Huai-an, Kiangsu.

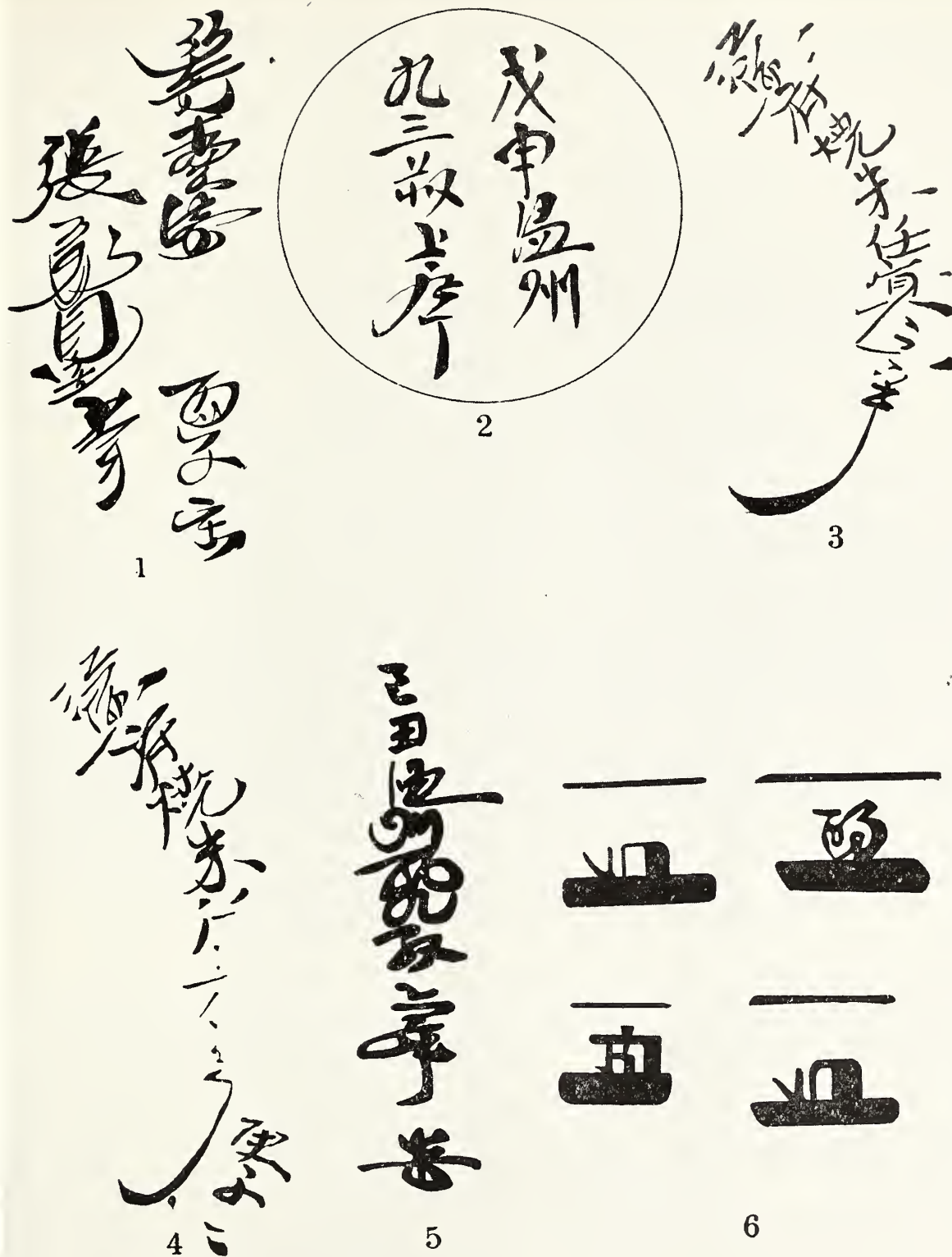


FIG. 3.—Inscriptions on lacquers excavated from Yang-miao Chen, near Huai-an, Kiangsu.



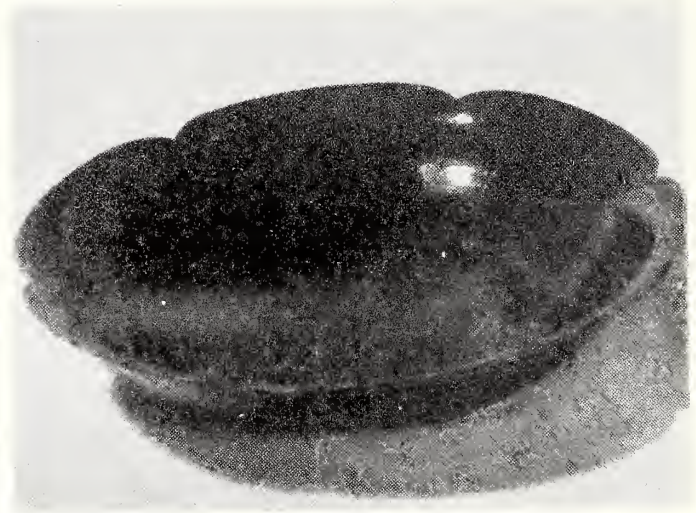
a



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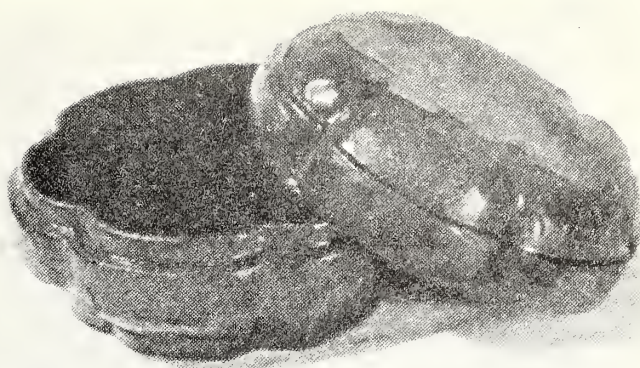


f

FIG. 4.—Lacquer finds from Shih-li-p'u, near Wuhan, Hupei.



a



b



c



d



e

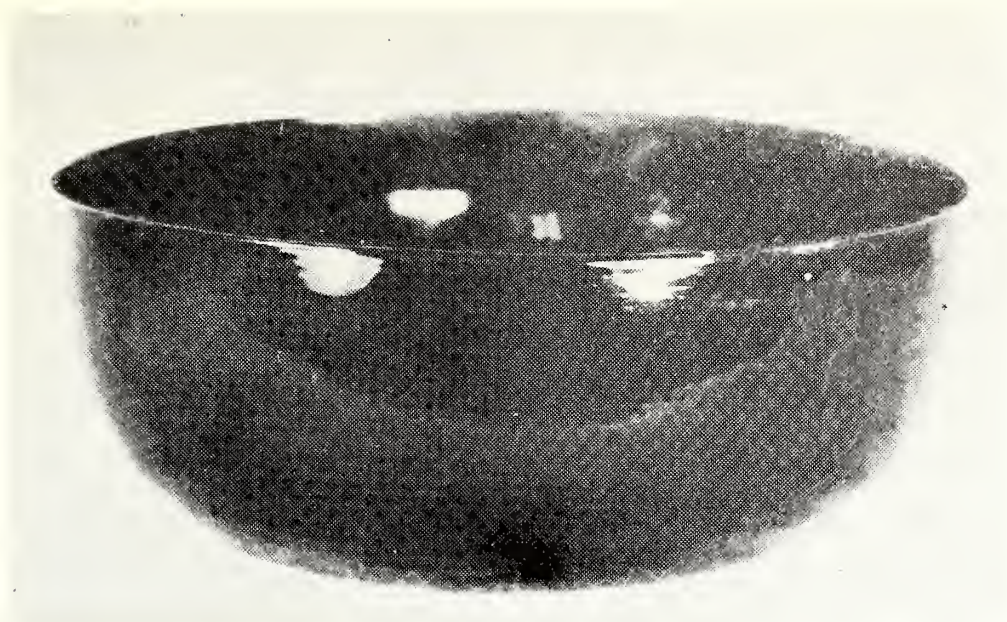


f

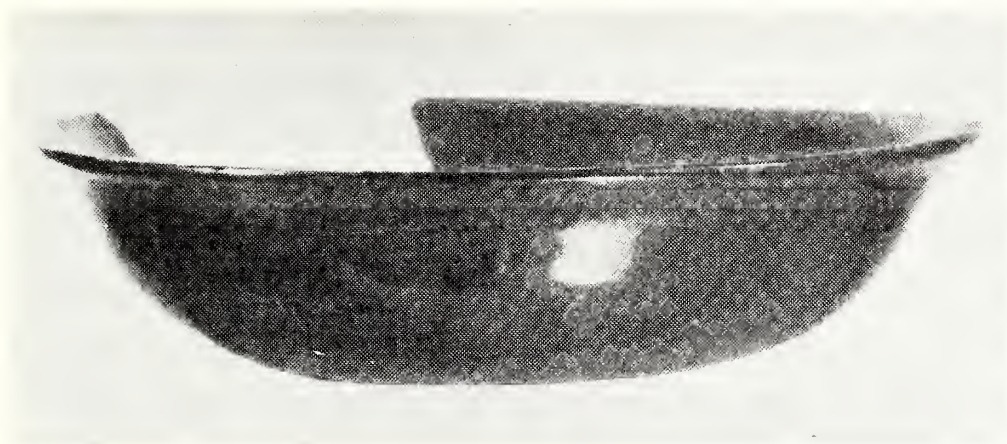
FIG. 5.—Lacquer finds from Shih-li-p'u, near Wuhan, Hupei.



FIG. 6.—Lacquer finds from Wu-hsi, Kiangsu.



a



b



c



d

FIG. 7.—Lacquer finds from Lao-ho-shan, near Hangchou.



FIG. 8.—Lacquer bowl. Musée Guimet.



FIG. 9.—Ju ware bowl.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 10.—Lacquer dish. Musée Cernuschi.



FIG. 11.—Northern black ware dish.
The Carl Kempe Collection, Ekolsund, Sweden.



FIG. 12.—Lacquer cup-stand.
Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 13.—Ju ware cup-stand.
Collection of Sir Harry and Lady Garner.



FIG. 14.—*Ch'ing-pai* bowl.
Ex-Eumorfopoulos Collection.



FIG. 15.—Celadon bowl.
Ex-Eumorfopoulos Collection.



FIG. 16.—Ting ware basin.
Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art.



FIG. 17.—Stoneware bowl.
The Carl Kempe Collection, Ekolsund, Sweden.



FIG. 18.—Porcelain vase.
Freer Gallery of Art, 09.325.

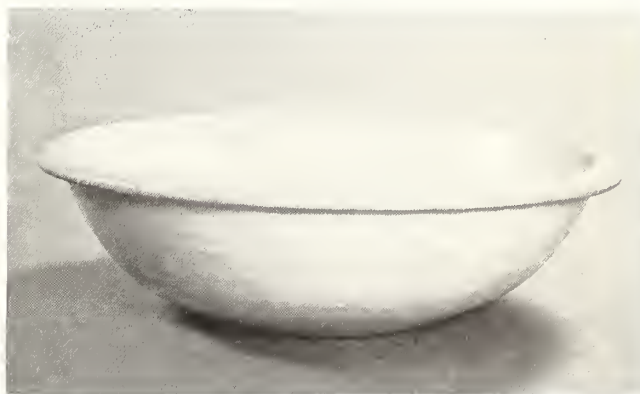


FIG. 19.—Stoneware basin.
Freer Gallery of Art, 62.33.

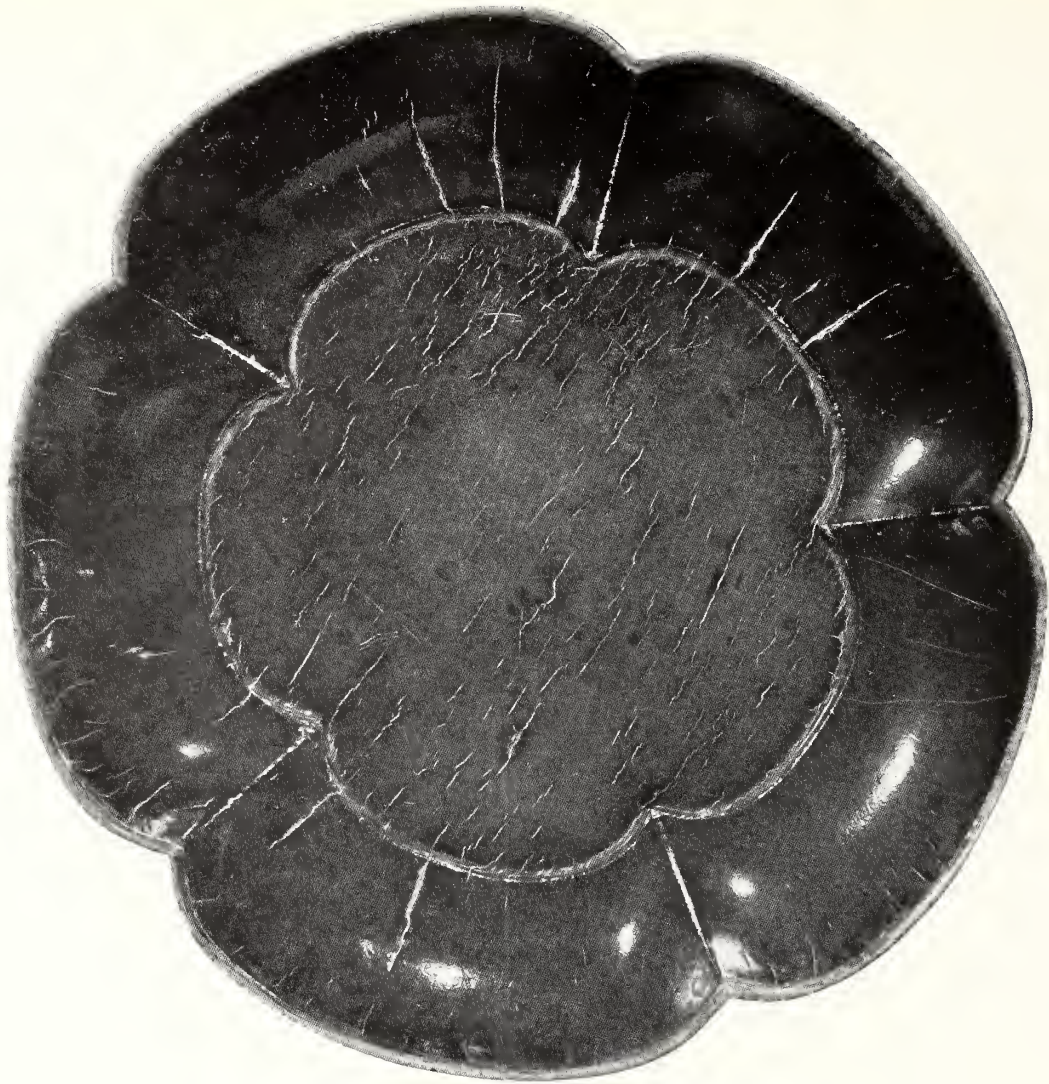


FIG. 20.—Lacquer dish. Freer Gallery of Art, 67.14.



FIG. 21.—Dish from the tomb of Wang Chien.



FIG. 22.—Lacquer dish. Freer Gallery of Art, 68.14.



FIG. 22a.—Base of *figure 22*.



FIG. 22b.—Side view of *figure 22*.



FIG. 23.—Ting ware dish. Freer Gallery of Art, 63.16.



FIG. 24.—Lacquer dish. Freer Gallery of Art, 67.13.



FIG. 24a.—Side view of *figure 24*.



FIG. 25.—Ting ware dish. Ex-Eumorfopoulos Collection.



FIG. 26.—*Ch'ing-pai* cup-stand. Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 27.—Lacquer dish.
Freer Gallery of Art, 68.67.

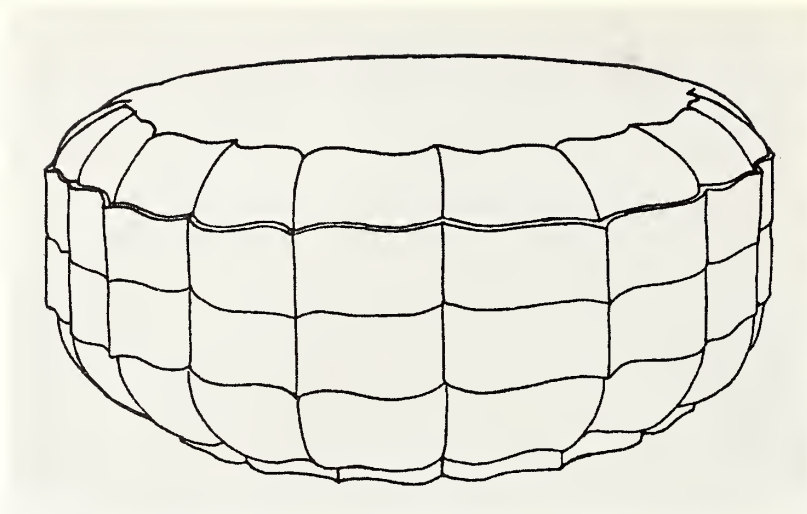


FIG. 28.—Silver box excavated at Ho-fei, Anhwei (outline drawing).

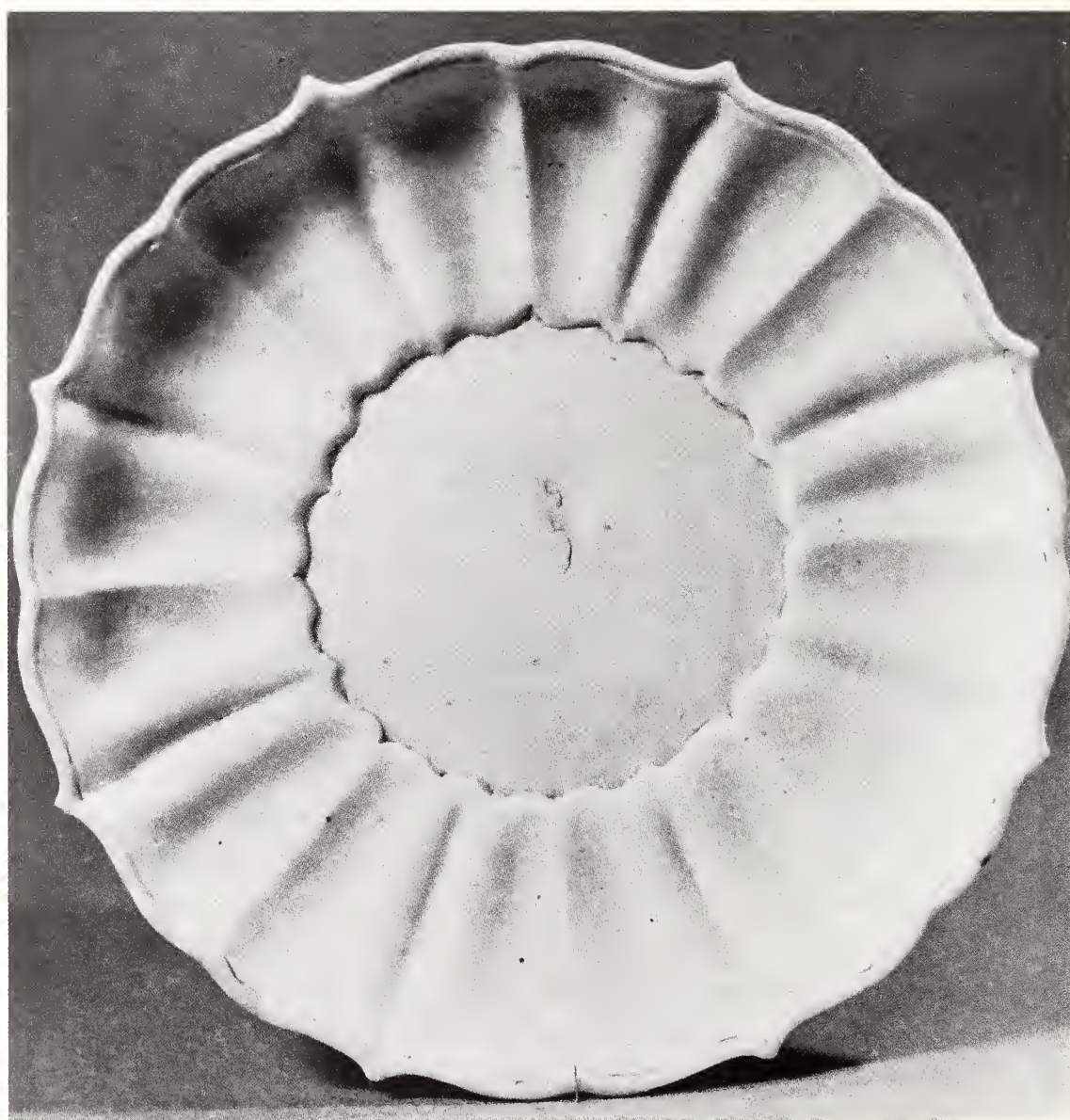


FIG. 29.—Porcelain dish. Ex-Hobart Collection.



FIG. 30.—Lacquer box. Freer Gallery of Art, 70.26.

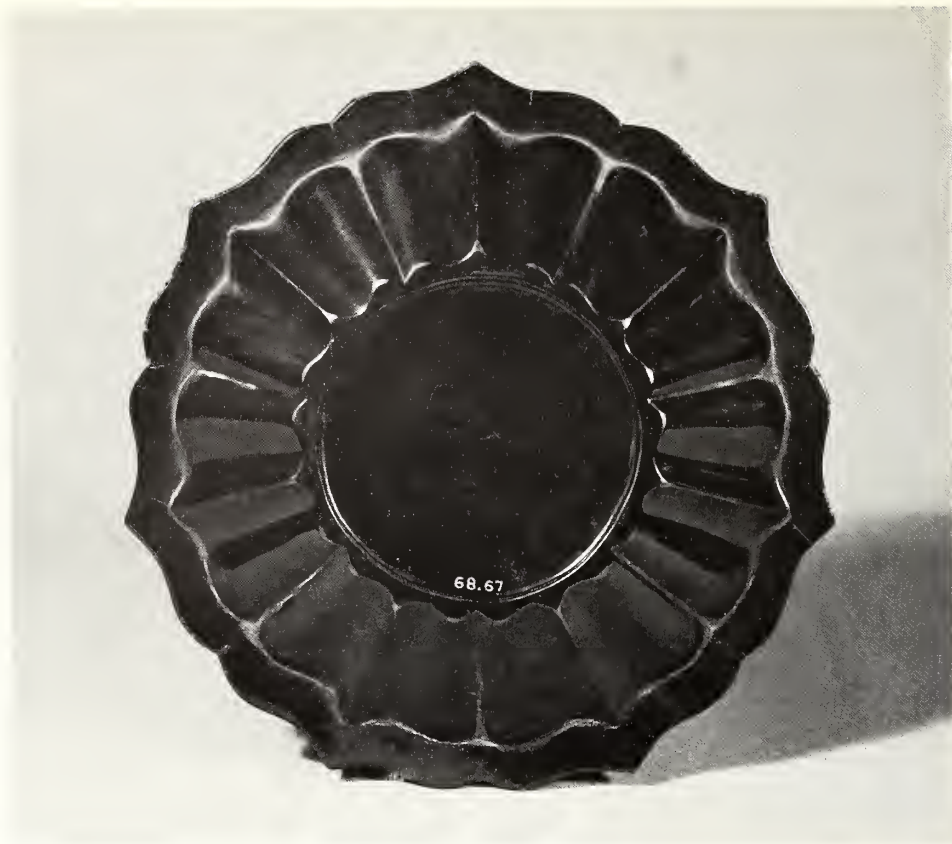


FIG. 31.—Base of *figure 27*.



FIG. 32.—Base of *figure 3*.



FIG. 33.—PALACE LADIES, Anon.
Freer Gallery of Art, 35.9.



FIG. 34.—Detail of *figure 33*.

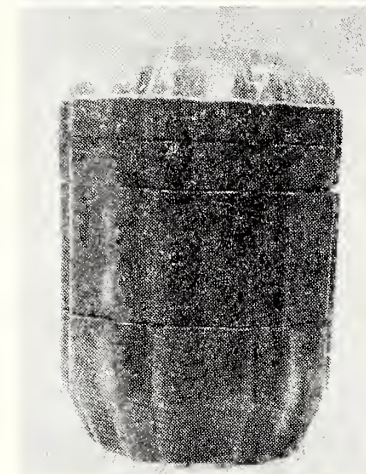


FIG. 35.—Lacquer box excavated from tomb of Ch'ien Yu.

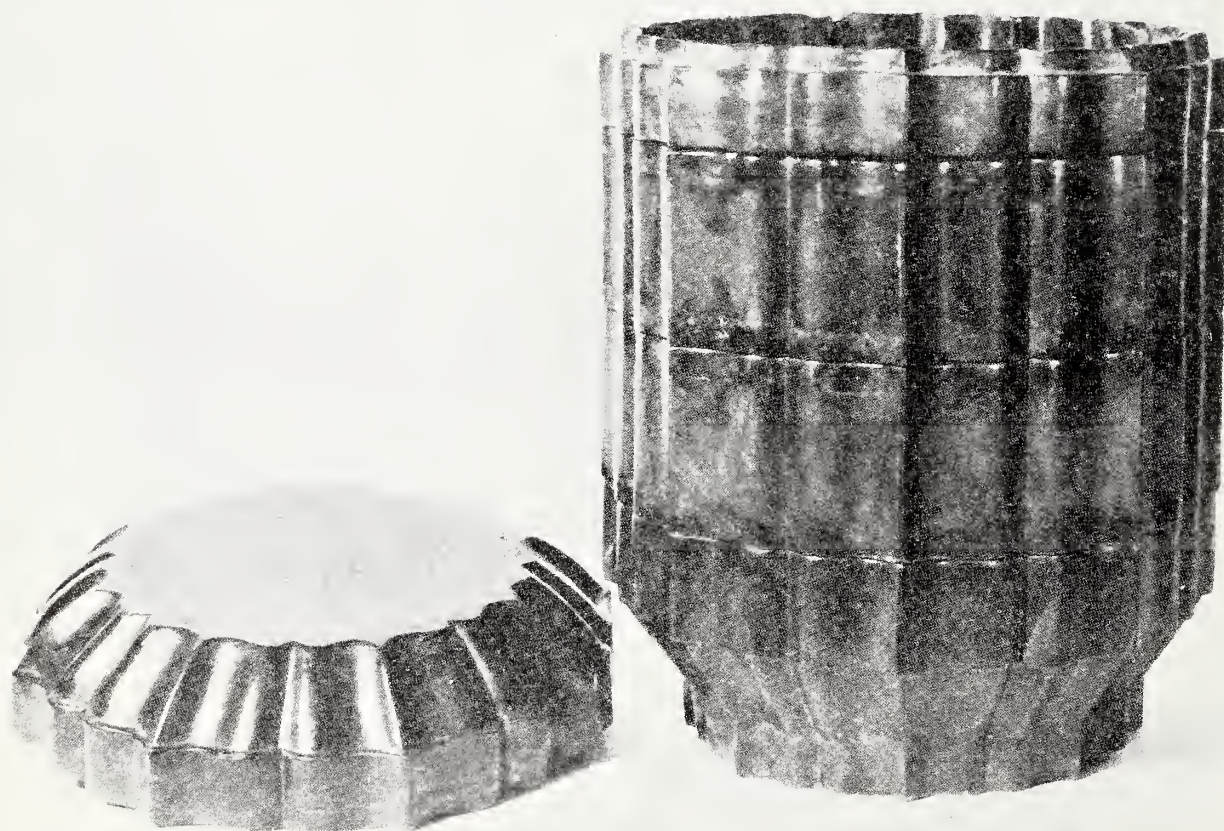


FIG. 36.—Lacquer box excavated from Jen family tomb at Pei-miao Ts'un, near Shanghai.

of this type, examples of which we also see in paintings. One such instance is the fan painting entitled "Palace Ladies" (*fig. 33*)²⁹ originally attributed to the tenth-century artist Chou Wen-chü 周文矩 but now considered to date from the twelfth-thirteenth century. On the painting, the maid on the right is holding a three-tiered lacquer box (*fig. 34*). The fact that the ladies on the left are carrying a tray on which there are cup and dishes clearly indicates that the three-tiered box is a confectionary and sweetmeat box. Likewise, the excavated Yüan box, which is 38 cm. high and 25 cm. in diameter, is probably a confectionary and not a cosmetic box. The box in the painting appears to have four simple lobes, and is similar to the six-lobed box in the Low-Beer collection.³⁰ Stylistically these boxes would be earlier than the excavated box, and between them chronologically would fit the cosmetic box illustrated in *figure 35*. This box was unearthed from the tomb of one Ch'ien Yu 錢祐 (1247–1320) at Wu-hsi, Kiangsu province.³¹ The lobing is rather more elaborate than that of the Low-Beer box and the box in the painting, but the pointed petals, such as we find on the Freer Yüan lotus dish and on the excavated Yüan box, have not yet emerged.

Following the same sequence, it would appear that dishes with sharp points at the tips of the petals are of later date, probably

very late, towards the Yüan dynasty. Two examples are the dish formerly in the Sedgwick collection³² and the one illustrated by Okada Jo in his article "Undecorated Lacquers of the Sung."³³ Dishes of this type, noticeably different in proportion from the Freer Yüan dish and from the ex-Hobart porcelain dish, are closer in proportion to the frequently seen blue-and-white and celadon dishes with molded lobed sides and flat foliated rims of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century.

From the foregoing, it is abundantly clear that a lively tradition of monochrome lacquers existed in China from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. It appears to be a tradition scantily recorded in Chinese literature.³⁴ Of the texts to which one turns for information on the crafts of this period, such as *Cho-keng lu* 輟耕錄³⁵ and *Ko-ku yao-lun* 格古要論,³⁶ only the former mentions plain lacquer, giving an account of the process of manufacture and no other information. *Hsiu-shih lu* is equally uninformative.³⁷ The question naturally arises as to whether the tradition stretches back beyond the eleventh century and forward into the

²⁹ Accession number 35.9, width 24.5 cm, ht. 22.7 cm.

³⁰ R. Soame Jenyns and William Watson, *Chinese Art, The Minor Arts: I* (New York, 1963), pl. 147.

³¹ The Wu-hsi Museum, "Chiang-su Wu-hsi Yüan mu chung ch'u-t'u i-p'i wen-wu 江蘇無錫元墓中出土一批文物," in *Wen-wu*, 1964, no. 12, pp. 52–60.

³² Sotheby Sales Catalogue of Chinese Ceramics and Lacquer for October 15th, 1968, number 56.

³³ Okada Jo, "Undecorated Lacquer of the Sung," in *Museum*, no. 174 (September, 1965), p. 5, fig. 4.

³⁴ It is clear from Beatrix von Ragué's article "Yüan Lacquerware" in *Oriental Art*, vol. 16, no. 2 (Summer, 1970), pp. 155–159, that underdecorated lacquers fared very badly in Yüan and early Ming texts and documents compared to other categories of lacquer.

³⁵ A miscellany by T'ao Tsung-i 陶宗儀, preface dated 1366 (1923 edition), *chüan* 30:8a–9a.

³⁶ A work on antiquities by Ts'ao Chao 曹昭, written in 1388. Original edition as reproduced in Sir Percival David's *Chinese Connoisseurship* (London, 1971).

³⁷ See footnote 12.

Ming dynasty.³⁸ Sir Harry Garner, who has been of invaluable assistance in discussions of these lacquers, holds the view that even in the Ming, when carved lacquer was overwhelmingly the favorite, considerable numbers of undecorated pieces were still being

³⁸ A report in *Wen-wu*, 1964, no. 2, pp. 63-65, records the excavation of a T'ang tomb at Chia-chuang 賈庄 in Ts'ai Hsien 蔡縣, Honan province, in which four undecorated lacquer boxes were found. One is round, the other three are six-lobed. They range from 10.4 cm. to 12 cm. in diameter. These are the only examples of T'ang undecorated lacquer known to me, but there is every likelihood that more will come to light.

made. The piece in his collection (referred to in footnote 17) he believes may be Ming, partly because of the Chia-ching dish of the same shape with incised and painted decoration in the Low-Beer collection.³⁹ It is to be hoped that this and other questions arising from the material presented in this paper will be answered with the resumption of the Chinese archaeological journals and publication of more pieces in collections elsewhere.

³⁹ F. Low-Beer, "Chinese Lacquer in the Middle and Late Ming Period," in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 24 (1952), pls. 15-16.

THEME AND VARIATIONS: A WINTER LANDSCAPE IN THE FREER GALLERY AND RELATED VERSIONS

By MAX LOEHR*

IN 1915 CHARLES FREER ACQUIRED FROM THE Shanghai collector P'ang Yüan-chi 龐元濟 a landscape of grandiose character, then regarded as a work of the Northern Sung painter Kuo Hsi (*fig. 1*). The painting, in fact, is signed with Kuo Hsi's name. But the name is an arbitrary addition, no older than the painting itself, and the painting may have been executed as late as the end of Ming or even later. As far as the design is concerned, however, this actual late date is as fortuitous and unrevealing as that of a reproduction. It has no bearing on the artistic substance of the design, the style, and the historical position of the ancient model or prototype behind this "reproduction." Our concern is the likely date of the unknown original. That it existed is forcefully suggested by the fact that the Freer version is not unique but supported, as it were, by a whole series of closely similar versions which all seem to be based on a common prototype. A fifth one introduces major changes, especially in the foreground, without concealing its dependence on the same prototype. A sixth version, by contrast, which at first sight seems totally unrelated, presents so drastically altered forms as to obscure their origin from the same ancient model; it is not a copy but a remarkable transformation, or travesty, of the original style.

The mere fact of the existence of so many copies and variations of the same picture shows that this picture was taken seriously by the authors of those copies, that it was

admired as a "classic." It is all the more surprising that there is no agreement as to whom to give credit for the original conception. The lack of agreement suggests that the original model was itself an anonymous work.

What follows is a list of the several versions known to the writer:

1. *Winter Landscape with Mt. O-mei* 峨眉山, attributed to Kuo Hsi (*fig. 1*). Freer Gallery of Art. Ink and light color on silk, 181 × 109.5 cm. Published: Sirén, *Chinese Paintings in American Collections*, pt. 5, 1928, pl. 178; L. Bachhofer, "Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei vom X. bis XIII. Jahrhundert," *Sinica*, X/1, 1935, p. 20, pl. 8.

2. *Dense Snow over Rivers and Mountains* 溪山密雪, attributed to Li Ch'eng (*fig. 2*). Ink on silk. Poorly reproduced in the catalogue entitled *Ku-hua Liu-chen* by F. S. Kwen (Kuan Fuch'u 管復初), Shanghai, Lai-yüan Company, 1916 no. 12.

3. *First Snow over Streams and Mountains* 溪山初雪, an anonymous Sung painting in the Chinese National Palace Museum collection, Taipei (*fig. 3*). Ink and light color on silk, 181.9 × 101.9 cm. Listed in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈, I, Ch'ung-hua-kung, and *Ku-kung shu-hua-lu* 故宮書畫錄, ch. 5: 107. Unpublished.

4. *Flying Snow over Myriad Mountains* 萬山飛雪, after Li Ch'eng (*fig. 4*). Copied by Sun Chin 孫金 from Ssu-ming 四明, Chekiang, on May 6, 1783. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. Ink and light color on silk, 155 × 91.4 cm. Not previously published.

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5. *Mountain Scene After Snow*, attributed to Kuo Hsi (fig. 5). Formerly in the collection of the City Art Museum of St. Louis, Missouri. Ink on silk. Published: *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis*, vol. V/3, July, 1920, p. 27.

6. *Snow Piled-up on Myriad Mountains* 萬山積雪. Anonymous "Sung" painting in the Chinese National Palace Museum collection, Taipei (fig. 6). Ink and some color on silk, 144.7 × 80.2 cm. Published: *Ku-kung shu-hua-chi* 故宮書畫集, vol. 24; *Ku-kung chou-k'an* 故宮週刊, no. 325. Listed in *Ku-kung shu-hua-lu*, ch. 5: 108. Said to bear a seal of Chang Yü 張雨 (1277–1348), "Chü-ch'ü wai-shih 句曲外史."

The composition of the versions 1–4 is essentially the same and can be characterized in one single description.

We are confronted with a majestic and exceedingly intricate scenery. From a rugged and much dissected foreground slope which descends toward the left corner we look down into a narrow valley on the left side. The valley ends in a dark gorge with a waterfall and cascading torrent that feed the quiet stream below. On the right side, our eyes are caught by a multitude of rounded boulders in the middle distance and then drawn upward by steeply towering cliffs which flank, and lock in, the valley. Immense and silent, these cliffs stand pale against a gray, wintry sky. Leafless trees, all of the same kind, grow upon the slope and from the fissures of the big boulders. Some of the farther hills and peaks are lined with firs. To the right of the central massif we discover the roofs of a monastery amid a few trees in full foliage hidden in a deep hollow, beyond which there rise the walls and buttresses of a further range. Another waterfall plunges from that range into the

hollow. On the dissected, low bank to the left of the stream lies, half hidden by trees, a hamlet, protected by hills under the tallest peak. Still beyond those hills there emerge dim silhouettes of mountains from the haze in the remote distance. They do not, however, modify the effect of an airless landscape. All the innumerable details of the endlessly varied structure of crags and chasms, solids and voids, appear in absolute clearness, with a blinding intensity. To organize all these formations coherently was a masterful achievement.

The shapes of the rocks, boulders, and cliffs are much diversified but, on the whole, rounded and creviced. Angular forms are avoided, as are sheer verticals, and there are no *ts'un* or texture dabs. Neither are there washes, except for the sky and the water. The painter sets great store by curious geological formations, such as the repeatedly applied lateral outcrops—handled rather obtrusively and unconvincingly in these copies, and the scalloped, flattened crests of some of the receding ridges. Nowhere do there appear the dentelated or frizzly contours of rock which were a hallmark of the school of Ching Hao—Kuan T'ung—Fan K'uan. Their absence, as well as the absence of the *ts'un* technique, is evidence in favor of another school, hinted by the recurrent ascriptions to either Li Ch'eng or Kuo Hsi.

The trees, too, would seem to agree with the Li Ch'eng tradition: their uniformity, their tallness, and the crisply rendered lacery of their boughs and twigs compare well with some works connected with Li Ch'eng. Only, they are wanting in individuality, and their expressiveness suffers from the all too repetitious application of the knot-hole motif. The same reservation might

be made with regard to the broken-off stumps, which have become an elegant convention.

Version 5, *Mountain Scene After Snow* attributed to Kuo Hsi, which from 1920 until 1945 was in the collection of the City Art Museum of St. Louis, differs significantly from the preceding four. What the author of this version strove after was, in the main, simplification and a quieter, more lucid effect. This he brought about by eliminating some elements altogether, specifically the architectural elements such as the bridges and all the buildings except the very unobtrusive ones of the monastery in the distant hollow; by reducing others in number and complexity, there are fewer trees, and fewer of the rock formations, and the latter less harshly fissured, plainer and smoother. In the lower right corner, much of the dissected rock has given way to a calm and dark expanse of water—contrasting greatly with the agitated, sharply defined, zigzagging small torrent in the other versions. Gone, too, is the elaborately defined, scalloped riverbank along the left edge of the picture; one or two upright rocks take its place. One alteration that tends toward elaboration rather than simplification is the meticulous texturing of the tall crags, a highly artificial device whose only excuse in a fundamentally realistic context is the contrast of tone it provides for the light, snow-covered surfaces of the lesser formations below those crags.

The alterations described above appear to be symptomatic of a certain logicity. They seem to follow the dictate of a changing attitude in landscape painting rather than the personal whim of a later copyist. In other words, we may have to do with the copy of an ancient work. If so, the

ancient work should certainly be placed some time after the original behind versions 1–4, which are obviously more archaic. Version 5 stands about midway between the design of 1–4 and that of a famous, dated Northern Sung work, Kuo Hsi's *Early Spring* of A.D. 1072 in the Palace Museum collection at Taipei (*fig. 7*). This work has much in common with version 5 as regards scenery and topography, the distribution of the solids and the articulating of the tall cliff, the scattering of the trees, and the motif of the monastery in a gorge. I do not intend to discuss the features that separate *Early Spring* from version 5 stylistically but wish to raise the question of the historical relationship of the two works. Is it conceivable in view of their almost identical basic structures that both the original of 1072 and the lost original accounting for version 5 were from the hand of Kuo Hsi? In 1072 the painter was in his early fifties; the lost original behind version 5 may well have been a quarter-century or so earlier, say about 1050–40, showing the bare beginnings of what was to develop into Kuo Hsi's mature style. The precursor of this hypothetical "early Kuo Hsi," that is, the design reproduced with minor variations in versions 1–4, must be earlier still. Most likely it antedates the time of Kuo Hsi's activity. Indeed, Bachhofer, who in his essay referred to above, assigned that prototype (of the Freer version) to the late tenth or early eleventh century, characterized it as "the ideal of beautiful landscape the young artist grew up with."

If these considerations should be found acceptable, the traditional attribution of (the model of) version 5 may tentatively be upheld, while the attribution of (the model

of) versions 1–4 to the same man, Kuo Hsi, cannot. Yet, if Kuo Hsi was the creator of the significantly altered design of version 5, he must of course have known and studied the original from which versions 1–4 are derived. A connection with Kuo Hsi, therefore, does exist, not with the master, but the beginner.

That the design of versions 1–4 was in fact regarded by some as stylistically older than Kuo Hsi evinces from the attribution of two of them to Li Ch'eng (919–967): *Dense Snow* (No. 2) and *Flying Snow* (No. 4). The claim of a dependence on Li Ch'eng, made at any rate in the inscription of 1783 on the latter item, the only dated and perhaps the latest item in the series, is hardly verifiable. If Li Ch'eng was virtually “non-existent” by the eleventh century, to rely on the judgement of Mi Fei (1051–1107), the chances of an eighteenth-century copyist to encounter an authentic Li Ch'eng were slim indeed.

Looking for stylistically related works, we have little to choose from. The only comparable designs are those of two anonymous mountainscapes of doubtless early date and authenticity in the Palace Museum collection at Taipei, published in *Ku-kung shu-hua-chi*, vols. III and XII. They were first discussed by Fu Shen 傅申, “Two anonymous Sung Dynasty paintings and the Lu Shan landscape,” in *The National Palace Museum Bulletin*, II/6 (January-February 1968) and III/1 (March-April 1968) under the titles of *Autumn Mountains* (fig. 8) and *A Lofty Range*, respectively. The two landscapes are constructed of the same type forms as those of the Freer and related winterscapes, perhaps even outdoing the latter as to complexity and finicality of design and execution. But their artistic level lies below that

of the winterscapes; they lack unity and rhythm, and—despite the the array of colossal forms—monumentality. They also are more primitive as regards the effect of recession and of space generally. These features were clearly seen by Fu Shen, who rightly recognized that the two landscapes, as well as the related but artistically superior *Lu Shan* 廬山 (attributed to Ching Hao), are stylistically earlier than Kuo Hsi “but later in execution,” as he is inclined to believe. Concerned primarily with the likely art-historical ambient of those three works, Fu Shen, while favoring their interpretation as representative of a “school” in the Li Ch'eng—Kuo Hsi tradition, does note a feature that is incompatible with this tradition, namely, “the rendering of rocks and mountains” (with jagged and curly outlines). Accordingly, he offers no simple, clear-cut solution to the problem of where to place those paintings but suggests three possibilities. Twice, Li Ch'eng is taken as the source; once, Ching Hao. Tenth-century painting is so little known that we cannot even properly estimate the degree of contradiction implied in these suggestions. But we should keep in mind the fact that it was Kuan T'ung and Fan K'uan, rather than Kuo Hsi, who were considered as the true descendants of Ching Hao. Measured by the sublime simplicity of Fan K'uan's *Travellers Among Streams and Mountains* (Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, III, pl. 154), the three works discussed by Fu Shen seem utterly archaic. If indeed they were middle or late Northern Sung in date, as assumed by Fu Shen, they would be freakishly out of touch with their time and only intelligible as fanciful fabrications to be marketed as antiques—something which is contradicted by their very character, their complete lack of affectation,

favoring a date in keeping with their style.

The Freer *Winter Landscape* and related versions, on account of their stylistic affinity with *Autumn Mountains* and *Lofty Range*, lend support to the surmised earliness of these otherwise rather isolated works, much as conversely these works relieve the isolation of the four snowscapes, which seem to be based on a more sophisticated prototype. Possibly all of these compositions should be placed in the tenth century.

Another, deeper historical perspective opens with the radically altered sixth version of our snowscapes, the painting named *Snow Piled-up on Myriad Mountains* 萬山積雪 in the Palace Museum collection at Taipei (fig. 6). Surprisingly this manneristic work, whose derivation from the design of versions 1–4 does not seem to have been noticed before, was traditionally regarded as a Sung work. What caused the compilers of *Shih-ch'ü paochi* (Pt. III) to assign a landscape so very unlike Sung landscapes to that period is not clear. Perhaps they went by some Sung-derived details; perhaps they took a seal of Chang Yü (1277–1348) as sufficient evidence of a pre-Yüan date. Be that as it may, this strange and almost repellent work is not a copy but a bold travesty of the ancient design. Its purpose cannot be the same as the copyist's who admired and devotedly reproduced every detail of the original in order to preserve it. The motivation of the painter of this travesty was quite different. While downgrading the dignity and importance of the ancient master's realistic achievement, he used it as the raw material for a new pictorial conception of his own.

In this altered version the forms are fewer. The diversity and individuality of the rock shapes, in particular, are sacrificed for complete uniformity. Their wavy outlines,

their even crevicing and lumpy texture are the same throughout, indiscriminately applied to the terrain in the foreground, the heaps of stones by the shore, the boulders, and the big cliffs. Even the sizes of all these units are assimilated. As a consequence, these formations are startlingly artificial in appearance; they fail to give the feeling of either rock or piled-up snow. The flattening effect of a black and white pattern is further intensified by the absence of tonality, hence of atmosphere and depth. Also subjected to patterning and uniformity are the trees, all of which are of one kind. None are in foliage, and there are no pines. The trunks are invariably crooked and full of knot-holes. The lacery of the leafless boughs—more conspicuously treated than in any of the other versions—is spread across the picture surface like a diaphanous fabric.

While still a landscape on grounds of subject-matter, this version (fig. 6) is transposed into a space-denying, harshly patterned, abstract image, which as a landscape is expressionless. Obviously the painter's concern was not Nature, or the trees and mountains as such, but rather, it seems, an intellectual concern with the nature of an ancient style. His picture is neither a copy nor an imitation of the original, however; it does not permit a reconstruction of the ancient design and of the ancient style, both of which are distorted almost beyond recognition. The painter's motivation, therefore, was quite unlike that of the facsimilists responsible for versions 1–4 who, whether just copying or perhaps plagiarizing, preserved the original idea from being lost. It was also unlike that of the author of version 5, which represents a purposeful and cautious modification of

the old design, enhancing its rhythmic flow. What the originator of version 6 did, through his subjective, whimsical, almost outrageous distortions, amounts to something like a commentary in pictorial form, more specifically a kind of parody on the strangeness of antique landscapes. As a

commentary this painting may be unserious, even frivolous, but there is no denying its originality. Yet, its originality is that of a nonce-style, unrelated to any recognizable school, and hard to place chronologically. Certainly it is not a Sung work, and even a pre-Ch'ing date is not easily defended.



FIG. 1.—WINTER LANDSCAPE WITH MT. OMI. Attributed to Kuo Hsi.
Freer Gallery of Art, 15.20.

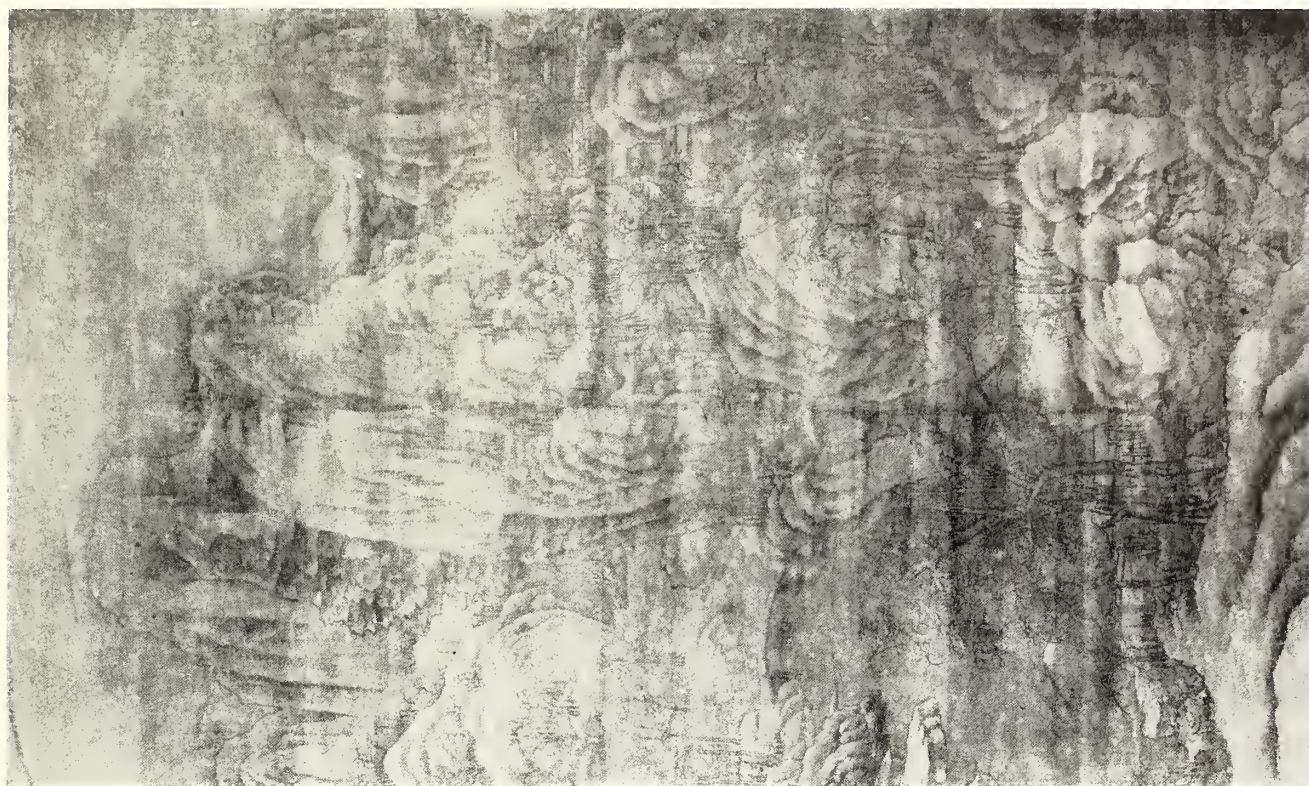


FIG. 2.—DENSE SNOW OVER RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS.
Attributed to Li Ch'eng.



FIG. 3.—FIRST SNOW OVER STREAMS AND MOUNTAINS. Anonymous.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 4.—FLYING SNOW OVER MYRIAD MOUNTAINS, after Li Ch'eng.
Copied by Sun Chin. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.



FIG. 6.—SNOW PILED-UP ON MYRIAD MOUNTAINS. Anonymous.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 5.—MOUNTAIN SCENE AFTER SNOW. Attributed to Kuo Hsi.
Formerly in the City Art Museum, St. Louis, Missouri.



FIG. 8.—AUTUMN HILLS. Anonymous.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.

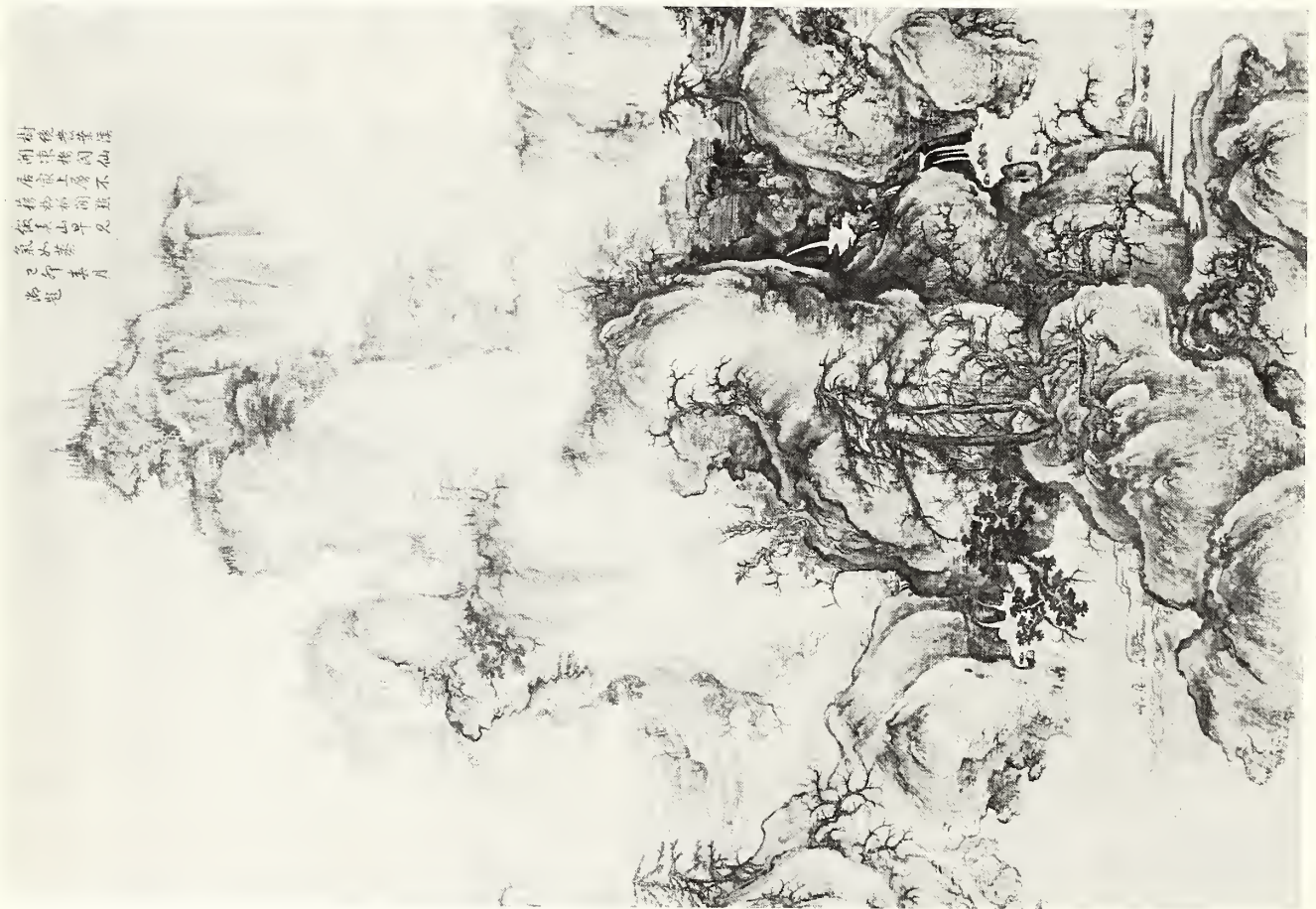


FIG. 7.—EARLY SPRING. Kuo Hsi.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.

THE FREER CANTEEN

By LAURA T. SCHNEIDER*

ONE OF THE FINEST KNOWN EXAMPLES OF Islamic metalwork with Christian scenes is the "pilgrim bottle" or canteen in the Freer Gallery of Art (no. 41.10).¹ The group of objects with Christian scenes presents problems which are perhaps unique in the history of Islamic art. The dated pieces are: the "d'Arenberg Basin," made for Sultan al-Malik al-Sālih, Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (637–47/1239–49), in the Freer Gallery of Art; the "Homberg Ewer," "made by Ahmad al-Dhakī al-Mawsili (signed and dated 640/1242), in the E. Kofler Collection, Lucerne; and a candlestick made by Dā'ūd ibn Salāmah (signed and dated 646/1249), in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. Other pieces include, besides the canteen, a ewer in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs; a platter in the Hermitage, Leningrad; an incense burner in the British Museum, one in the Islamische Abteilung, Berlin, and one in the Cleveland Museum of Art; a cylindrical box in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, one in the Stroganof Collection, and one in the Harari Collection in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo; and a cup in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi.²

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¹ I would like to thank my colleagues Dr. Esin Atil and Dr. Ljubica Popovich for their helpful comments on the editing of the manuscript for this paper. I am also grateful to Dr. Lisa Golombek who first introduced me, as a student, to the subject of Islamic metalwork with Christian scenes.

² Cf. D. S. Rice, "The Seasons and the Labors of the Month in Islamic Art," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 1 (1954), pp. 33–34, where he lists these objects with references. In a later publication, he mentions fourteen objects with Christian scenes but does not

In a study of the Freer Canteen, some of the problems are apparent immediately. Why, for example, would a piece of Islamic metalwork have been decorated with Christian scenes? The canteen is unsigned; was it intended for a Christian or a Muslim patron and was the artist of the same belief? Is the piece, though undated itself, related in style or by its iconography to other, dated works, and can it be assigned a date and place of origin? It would be enlightening for the study of the entire group to know if there were a certain religious or political motivation involved.

The iconography raises further questions. Did the artist rely on themes typical of the Christian Near East at that time? Did the iconography chosen have a specific connotation for an artist and patron living in the milieu of the Near East?

Finally, the shape of the canteen is unique in Islamic metalwork; it raises the questions of use and purpose.

I

Before it was acquired by the Freer Gallery from H. Kevorkian, New York, in 1941, the canteen belonged to the Eumorfopoulos Collection in London. In 1845 it had been in the possession of Prince Filippo Andrea Doria.³

identify the fourteenth: "Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhakī al-Mawsili," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 2 (1957), p. 316.

³ Cf. M. Lanci, *Trattato delle Simboliche Rappresentanze Arabiche*, vol. 2, pp. 141–145 and vol 3, pls. 45–46, nos. A, B and 1, 2.

The workmanship of the canteen is superb (*fig. 1*; see Appendix 1). It is of brass inlaid with silver; details are engraved. Its measurements are: diameter 14 1/2 inches (0.369 m.), length of spout 3 1/2 inches (0.090 m.), depth 8 1/2 inches (0.215 m.). The truncated pit or cone in the center of the back is 4 inches (0.102 m.) in diameter at the mouth and 7 3/8 inches (0.187 m.) deep (*fig. 2*).

The front of the canteen is slightly convex, with a minimal depression in the center. The inlaid figures depicted in this round depression are the Madonna and Child enthroned, a standing figure on either side of the throne, and four angels placed above and below the throne (*fig. 1*). One of the two standing figures wears a turbanlike headdress, while the other carries some unidentifiable object.

The remainder of the convex surface of the canteen is occupied by three large group scenes, interrupted by three medallions containing zoomorphic tendrils (that is, vine forms ending in animal and bird shapes). The large scenes are quickly recognizable as representing three motifs common to Christian iconography: the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Entry into Jerusalem. Immediately adjacent to the central medallion of the Madonna and Child and encircling it, is a narrow band containing a geometric meander pattern.

Progressing outwards from the center, next comes a band of Arabic inscription in *kūfic* lettering (*fig. 1*; see Appendix 2). This inscription is interrupted by three small medallions containing a geometric double meander motif. Bordering the inscription and continuing outward in sweeping curves to border the medallions of zoomorphic tendrils, is another band of the single meander pattern already noted.

On the shoulder of the canteen, the outermost band, again interrupted by roundels, contains another *kūfic* inscription (*fig. 3*, top), while *naskhi* characters decorate the spout (*fig. 1*; see Appendix 2). The next band on the shoulder (*fig. 3*, middle) is composed of a frieze-like composition of men, animals (some of them winged), birds and animated letters. Some of the human figures have animal heads. At intervals along this band we find roundels—four altogether—each containing the same figure of a man, seated and holding a half-moon in his hands.

The third band on the shoulder consists of a series of medallions with seated figures drinking or playing instruments. There are also medallions with bird designs (*fig. 3*, bottom).

The reverse side of the canteen contrasts in its stylistic arrangement with the side already discussed. It is composed basically of two wide, concentric bands of figures (*fig. 2*). The inner band contains a frieze of nine horsemen against a barely visible background of minute whorl designs bordered by a narrow strip of a pearl motif. The outer frieze consists of twenty-five saints standing in ogival compartments with slender columns against a background of interlacing scroll design.

The three large scenes on the convex side of the canteen are shown in some detail. The Nativity (*fig. 4*) is depicted in two layers, the composition being at the same time quite crowded. At the middle of the top layer, a wide jagged band outlines the grotto wherein the Virgin lies. The Child, hardly discernible at first, lies in a box-like crèche, into which three animal heads peer. These are probably the ox, the ass and a second ox or a sheep. On either side,

angels turn toward the grotto. In the upper left corner, three Wise Men on horseback ride toward the Child. The farthest Magus stretches out his left arm as though pointing. The first Magus wears a tall, furry hat.⁴ Opposite to them, more angels turn toward the crèche.

On the lower level, directly below the crèche, the Christ Child, almost as large as his attendants and, strangely, fully clothed, sits in a quarter-moon-shaped basin that rests on a pedestal. Attending to the washing of the Child, on the left, is a figure seated on a bench. On the right, a standing figure pours water, which is not indicated, from an amphora into the basin. To the left of the washing scene are two superposed animals facing in opposite directions, and beyond them is a figure, probably a shepherd, who seems to be sitting on a third animal, although it is much smaller than he is. The shepherd is probably meant to be standing behind this creature. To the right of the washing scene, Joseph sits on a stool, his chin resting on his right hand, although the sense of weight and support is not conveyed in this gesture. Behind him a standing figure is clasped about the neck by yet another personage, who wears a peaked cap and points with outstretched right arm toward the crèche. These last two are the remaining two shepherds.

Moving counter-clockwise from this panel, we come to the Presentation in the Temple (*fig. 5*). The setting is a tripartite, domed structure. Each dome contains a

cross in the center, and that of the middle dome seems to be upside-down. An incised design of four fish and a bird decorates the lintel of the middle segment. The Christ Child sits on a sort of column under the center segment. He confronts a standing figure, Simeon, who reaches out toward him. Behind the Child, another standing figure, apparently the Virgin, gestures toward him with her right hand. In the side segment behind her, another standing figure, the prophetess Anna, gestures in the same way and holds what might be the scroll in her left hand. To the left of the main group, Joseph faces the center and holds a box-like object.

The same type of domed structure, this time without a cross, appears in the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem (*fig. 6*). In the center of the composition, between two trees, Christ rides sidesaddle on a donkey toward the building, which here represents the city of Jerusalem. Three small figures spread garments beneath the donkey's feet. At the upper left is a personage who may be an apostle; his garment is decorated with a cross. Among the branches of each tree is another figure. Still more figures await Christ beside the domed structure.

Almost all the figures in the three panels have halos, a device common in Islamic iconography to single out the heads of the personages, particularly noteworthy persons.

The meander pattern both separates and unifies the divergent elements of the convex side of the canteen. It forms a border for the three medallions of zoomorphic tendrils, whose turbulent, decorative nature contrasts with the monumental character of the Gospel scenes.

The reverse side of the Freer Canteen

⁴ It is a regional type, possibly a *sharbush*, and resembles the hat of a Mamluk from Cairo shown in a woodblock print; cf. L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Geneva, 1952), p. 14, 3. On the *sharbūsh*, cf. also D. S. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," p. 324.

(fig. 2) is perhaps more aesthetically pleasing than the obverse; the two circular friezes create a more unified pattern than the elements of the convex side. At the same time, an interesting contrast exists: the flowing circular motion of the inner frieze provides a foil for the vertical, static figures of the holy persons, which are placed perpendicularly to the horsemen.

The figures of the saints are frontal, or turn slightly to one side, and each stands between two columns of a colonnade, their heads framed by ogival arches. The twenty-five figures include the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary, or an Annunciation to the Virgin. Two saints hold swords and wear short robes and boots; these are probably warrior saints. Four other figures have short robes, and one of these holds a scroll. Some others bear indistinguishable attributes. Some appear to stand on their toes, while others have bulky feet, firmly planted on the ground, and four are splay-footed. The inlay of eight saints' heads has come off. A few of the figures have a feminine appearance.

Nine horsemen ride in a counter-clockwise direction below the frieze of saints. Three of the horses, with long, elaborate trappings, alternate with the other horses. Two of the animals have briefer decorative coverings, while four horses have very simple saddle blankets only. Two horses have bobbed tails; the bobbed tails appear on horses with the simplest coverings. Two horsemen are armed with crossbows. Another wears a turban, but none of the horsemen wears a helmet; and no shields are visible.

II

The canteen's Gospel scenes are in most

respects correctly rendered according to traditional Christian iconography (fig. 4). According to the *Byzantine Guide to Painting*, an iconographic manual, "In the East, the scene of the Nativity is always laid in a grotto or cave, where, in the West, it is in a poor cabin or stable covered with thatch."⁵ This setting clearly allies the canteen's program with the Eastern tradition, and the setting is also related to the Apocryphal Gospels.⁶

The presence of three animals behind the crèche, however, is not consistent with the Eastern and Apocryphal traditions nor, for that matter, with Western tradition: "Behind the cradle, an ox and an ass are watching Christ."⁷ The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew also mentions just the two animals (ch. XIV). The phenomenon of the third animal has not been duplicated on any pictorial examples studied by this writer. In one manuscript example, however, a possible reason for the "error" may be seen: on fol. 12 of a Sacramentary, ca. 1225 (Rome, Vatican, S. Pietro F. 13), sheep appear *behind* the ox and the ass.⁸ It may be that the artist of the Freer Canteen, following a similar prototype, simply included a third animal from the background. One might infer from this addition that the textual source of the tradition was unknown to the canteen's artist.

Another noteworthy detail in the Nativity scene is the shape of the basin in which Christ is being bathed: it resembles

⁵ A. N. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, trans. E. J. Millington (London, 1851-86), vol. 2, p. 299.

⁶ Cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1960).

⁷ Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 299.

⁸ E. B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Florence, Italy; Spring, 1956), fig. 154.

a waning moon. This form was discovered on several Syrian manuscripts, for example a lectionary of the Gospels, Add. 7170 in the British Museum, dated ca. 1220 (*fig. 7*). An exact replica of the basin was found in a Nativity scene from Vatican Syr. 559 of 1219–1220 (*fig. 8*). There, as on the canteen, we see a crowded, nearly circular grouping of figures around the Virgin and Child. In both cases, water is poured from a vase into the basin, and in neither is the flow of water indicated. On the canteen, the figure to the right of the basin stands and pours, while the other sits. This probably also follows a Syriac model, while the artist of Vatican Syr. 559 was following a Greek original.⁹ Though Hellenistic in origin, the washing scene itself is characteristic of East Christian Nativity scenes; it is likely that it was influenced by apocryphal writings.

Another aspect of the Nativity scene on the canteen connects it with a Syrian source: the figure group of two shepherds at the lower right-hand corner of the composition. One shepherd clasps another about the neck and points upward. The same group is depicted in Vatican Syr. 559. The most likely explanation of the scene is that the first shepherd is pointing to a star and supporting the other shepherd—an old man—around the neck, while the latter points more feebly.¹⁰

The next scene from the Gospels is the Presentation in the Temple.¹¹ The tradi-

tional representation derives directly from the Biblical text (Luke 2: 24) in which the parents offer doves as a sacrifice to the Lord:

And to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons. But here, no doves are visible.

It has generally been Joseph's role in this scene to hold the doves, although in some instances they are held by Mary or Anna. But what is he carrying here? It could be a basket. Traditionally, in both Western and East Christian art, Joseph holds one, two or three doves and sometimes carries them in a basket, box or birdcage.¹²

The artist of the Freer Canteen, then, is following one of these prototypes, without showing the birds themselves. Perhaps, indeed, he did not understand the significance of the doves.

Another unusual feature of the canteen's version of the Presentation is the position of the Child alone on the pedestal between Simeon and Mary. Although the placement of Simeon and Mary varies—sometimes Mary is to the right, Simeon to the left, sometimes vice versa—usually the Child is held by one or the other (*figs. 5 and 9*).

St. Anna is traditionally depicted to the right, holding a long scroll. Here the scroll more nearly resembles a strip of cloth, but the essential attribute is present in any case. In general, allowing for slight departures from traditional Christian iconography, the meaning of the Presentation has been preserved on the canteen.

What is the relationship of the tripartite temple structure shown on the canteen to

⁹ Cf. G. Jerphanion, *Les Miniatures du Manuscrit Syriaque No. 559 de la Bibl. Vaticane* (Vatican, 1940), p. 74, n. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74, n. 2. Jerphanion feels that this motif has a Syrian origin.

¹¹ It has also been called a circumcision; cf. M. S. Dimand, "A Silver Inlaid Bronze Canteen with Christian Subjects in the Eumorfopoulos Collection," *Ars Islamica*, vol. 1 (1934), p. 17.

¹² Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien* (Paris, 1957), vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 263–264 and pl. 19 (Fra Angelico: Presentation in the Temple).

manuscript illustrations of the Presentation in the Temple? In the Syrian manuscript Add. 7170 in the British Museum, a similar building is shown (*fig. 9*). André Grabar compares the structure on the canteen to one depicted in the Capella Palatina. He believes that there the image can be traced less to a particular Christian church in the Levant than to an iconographic type familiar to the Muslims.¹³ Proof of this familiarity may be seen in such examples of Islamic miniature painting as a banqueting scene from the *Māqāmat* of A.D. 1237 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.¹⁴ There again we see a tripartite structure with a dome over each section. This theory is further borne out by similar structures—conventionalized representations of churches—among the mosaics of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem (*fig. 10*).¹⁵

The curious motif of fish and a bird on the temple architrave may be explained, according to Richard Ettinghausen, “by the notion of waters above the heaven (Psalm 148: 4) and of an ocean above the earth.”¹⁶ And there is another possibility: perhaps the motif may refer to a scene of Feeding of the Multitude, or of the Last Supper, in which fish are used as food.

¹³ André Grabar, “L’image d’une église chrétienne parmi les peintures musulmanes de la Chapelle Palatine à Palermo,” *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst*, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel (Berlin, 1959), pp. 227–228 and *fig. 1*.

¹⁴ Ms. arabe 5847, fol. 33; Hugo Buchtal, “The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art,” *Syria* (1939), pl. 22, *fig. 2*.

¹⁵ It has been remarked that such structures were “designed to frame the texts of conciliar decisions, like canon tables . . .”; D. V. Ainalov, *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art*, (New Brunswick, N.J., 1961) p. 209.

¹⁶ Cf. Freer Gallery Files; also A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites* (Amsterdam, 1918), pp. 19–21.

In the depiction of the Entry into Jerusalem on the Freer Canteen, a link was again found with the Eastern iconographic tradition. As on the canteen, Christ rides sidesaddle in most representations of the scene from East Christian art. This is not so often the case in the West. Similar iconography may be seen in Syrian manuscript illumination, for example British Museum Or. 3372 (*figs. 6 and 11*).¹⁷

Another pertinent detail here is the cross on the garment of the figure in the upper left corner; this may well have been copied from the crosses on bishops’ garments in Christian manuscript illumination.¹⁸

The Entry into Jerusalem is a particularly frequent theme of the Syro-Palestinian region.¹⁹ In monumental decoration, it appeared at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem²⁰ and at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (*fig. 12*). In most of these compositions, the position of Christ on the donkey and the smaller size of the persons casting down garments (indicating they are children) point to the Eastern

¹⁷ The treatment of trees and architecture in the scene from Or. 3372 has been compared to the iconography of the “School of Baghdad.” Cf. Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d’Europe et d’Orient* (Paris, 1964) [i.e. 1965], p. 266. The use of trees in a symmetrical, framing position is typical of Arab landscape treatment in painting, particularly of the School of Baghdad. Cf. Hugo Buchtal, “Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 5 (1942), pp. 19 ff; also, Laura T. Schneider, “Landscape in Islamic Art,” *Mid East* (Washington, D.C., March, 1967).

¹⁸ Cf. an ordination scene in FGA 56.11, fol. 293: Bishop John; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1963), pl. 68, *fig. 195*.

¹⁹ The term “Syrian” in this paper will be used to refer to the entire area of Syria-Palestine at the time of the Crusades.

²⁰ Cf. T. S. R. Boase, “The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, vol. 2, no. 1 (July, 1938), pl. 1, *fig. C*.

iconographic tradition and are details shared by the canteen's iconography.

The iconography of the center roundel of the convex side of the canteen is not only that of the Madonna and Child Enthroned but of a related aspect of Christian iconography, the Adoration (*fig. 1*). The type of the Virgin corresponds to the Virgin "Hodegetria"—"she who points the way"—of East Christian tradition and may be characteristically Syrian.²¹ Lost compositions on the façade of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem may have exemplified this type of Adoration.²² This iconography is also to be found among Syrian sculptural remains: the lintel of the main western portal of the East Church at Zebed contains a figure of the Virgin in a medallion. Angels soar toward her on either side, the Child is held, standing, to the right of center, as on the canteen; and the throne, with a rectangular back, is also similar.²³

Regarding the frieze of saints on the back of the canteen, for the most part it is not possible to identify these figures. (*fig. 2*). One of the saints, however, may be St. Matthew. He is the second to the left of the canteen's spout. This assumption is based upon the distinctive head of the figure, elongated and thin, with a long, pointed beard, as well as on his attribute, a book.²⁴

Another aspect of the canteen's iconography which may be included in the Infancy Cycle is to be found among the row of saints (*fig. 2*, upper left). This is the Annunciation to Mary. Both Mary and Gabriel are standing, and each is housed within a section of the arcade. Traditionally, the Virgin of the Annunciation may be either seated or standing. The standing Virgin is consistent with Syrian iconography, as in Vatican Syr. 559 (*fig. 13*), but not exclusive to it. There also the postures, shrinking attitude of the Virgin and incline of her head, recall the canteen's iconography.

The mixture of hat types on the figures of the Freer Canteen is continued among the saintly personages. One saint's hat, with two flaps which come down over the ears, resembles that of a warrior. Another hat resembles a turban.²⁵

The theme of saints in arched compartments is common in Christian iconography and appears, for instance, in Syriac manuscripts.²⁶

What is the subject of the frieze of horsemen below the band of saints? D. S. Rice has remarked: "a western origin must be suspected for the tournament with hooded horses on the Freer Gallery pilgrim bottle shows a form of sport introduced to the Near East by the Crusaders."²⁷ (In fact, only one horse is hooded.) Dimand,

²¹ Cf. *The Rabbula Gospels*, Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript Plut. I, 56 in the Medicaean-Laurentian Library, edited and commented by Carlo Cecchelli, Giuseppe Furlani and Mario Salmi (Olten and Lausanne, 1959) fol. 1b.

²² Cf. Ainalov, *Hellenistic Origins*, p. 107

²³ Howard C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, Part II of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900 (New York, 1903), fig. 117, p. 308.

²⁴ Cf. St. Matthew on a Byzantine enamel of the 7th–9th centuries in the Metropolitan Museum of

Art: O. M. Dalton, "Byzantine Enamels," *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, vol. 13, no. 7 (July, 1918), p. 153. On the enamel, the saint holds a book (his Gospel) and is identified by inscription.

²⁵ The turbaned figure was not rare in Christian iconography after the appearance of the Seljuks. Cf. Paul Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York, 1966), vol. 3, pls. 427 and 545: St. John Damascene.

²⁶ Cf. Vatican Bibl. apost. Syr. 559, fol. 45v.: Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, pl. 71, 2.

²⁷ "The Seasons and the Labors of the Month in Islamic Art," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 1, (1954) p. 34.

however, calls this a "fricze of warriors" and does not mention a tournament.²⁸ He believes that these are Crusaders, and that "the Mohammcdans are represented by a single figure wearing a turban and at whom a crusader is aiming with a crossbow."²⁹ This "Crusader" is the only horseman who turns backward in his saddle to aim his weapon. This thesis, however, does not take into account the fact that another crossbow is being used—and against a rider with no turban and whose horse wears the tapestry-like covering of several other horses shown—in other words, against a fellow Crusader. Thus, the action of the first bowman does not necessarily signify combat with a Muslim.

Further, the fact that this is the only figure in the horseman-frieze to wear a hat, and one which resembles a turban, is of itself by no means proof that the personage is a Muslim. A similar hat appears on the head of a saint in the frieze above the horsemen, and another one, also resembling a turban, appears on the other side of the canteen, on the Magus to the left in the central medallion.

Is the subject then a tournament or a battle between Muslims and Christians? Dimand has pointed out that "at the Second Lateran Council in 1139 the use of the crossbow was prohibited amongst Christians as a weapon, although its use was allowed against unbelievers. This decision was confirmed by a decree of Innocent III (1198–1216)."³⁰ There is documentation of its use against the infidel, however.³¹

²⁸ Dimand, "Silver Inlaid Bronze Canteen," p. 17.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17, n. 1.

³¹ "Our foot-soldiers came forth from Acre and began to provoke them (the Saracens) with bows

Among the Muslims, on the other hand, the crossbow was not always used in battle: "the *bunduq* (a pellet discharged from a crossbow or blowpipe) was mainly used for hunting . . . and, being not a very effective weapon in battle, only rarely against troops."³² This statement applies to the period before the introduction of firearms in the middle of the fourteenth century, and thus to the period during which the Freer Canteen was made. It was extremely difficult to fire a crossbow from horseback, since it was rather unwieldy and required the use of both hands.³³ The presence of a crossbow, therefore, does not necessarily imply a battle scene.

If warfare were the subject here, two other important components are missing: shields and weapons other than the crossbow. Beginning with the twelfth century, Crusaders in combat were depicted in France on the walls of churches and castles.³⁴ Such subjects undoubtedly existed as well among Crusaders' mural art in the Holy Land. A wall painting from the period of Philippe-Auguste and Louis VIII (1180–1226) at Artins (Loir-et-Cher), no longer extant, showed a combat between Franks and Muslims.³⁵ The Franks wear round helmets, coats of mail and triangular shields, and carry lances. The Muslims wear conical helmets and carry round shields. Shields

and crossbows . . ."; Jean Sire de Joinville, *The History of St. Louis*, trans. from the French text, eds. Natalis de Wailly and Joan Evans (London, New York, Toronto, 1938) pp. 164–166.

³² David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom* (London, 1956), p. 59.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 119, n. 95.

³⁴ Cf. P. Deschamps and M. Thibout, *La Peinture Murale en France au début de l'époque gothique* (Paris, 1963), p. 220.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 16.

appear to be necessary appurtenances of such combat scenes.

Aside from the crossbows, the objects carried by riders in the canteen's equestrian frieze are probably lances decorated with banners, or they may be simply pennants (they are not weapons). Decorated lances appear in the "Schefer" Harīrī manuscript of 1237 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.³⁶ We learn that "on special parades the *khās-sakiyya* used to adorn them with streamers (*shatfāt*) as often as not made of colored silk . . . (and that) another kind, used by Crusaders as well, is known as *qantāriyya*."³⁷

Is there some conclusion to be drawn from the use of decorated lances and banners on the canteen's horsemen frieze? According to the fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldūn, "flags have been the insignia of war since the creation of the world. The nations have always displayed them on battlefields and during raids. This was also the case in the time of the Prophet and that of the caliphs who succeeded him."³⁸ Banners and flags, along with the beating of drums and the blowing of trumpets and horns, were aspects of *alah*, or the "outfit," one of the emblems of royal authority.³⁹ The practice was taken from the Persians and Byzantines, the purpose being that "the great number of flags, their manifold colors, and their length, are intended to cause fright, nothing more. (Fright) produces greater aggressiveness in the soul."⁴⁰ In this way, banners were symbolic of, and important

to battle. But they were not actual weapons and were used in related functions as well. Ibn Khaldūn continues that Abbasid and Fatimid caliphs "would often grant permission to display their flags to officials such as the master of a border region or the commander of an army," and that "such officials . . . setting out on a mission or going from the house of the caliph or from their own houses to their offices, were accompanied by a cavalcade of people carrying flags and the attributes of the 'outfit' (*alah*). The only distinction between the cavalcade of an official and that of the caliph was the number of flags, or the use of particular colors for the caliph's flag."⁴¹

Since banners outnumber the only weapons, crossbows, on the Freer Canteen, the subject does not appear to be an actual battle. The occasion is more likely a ceremonial one. The pomp and circumstance of military display are shown here. Indeed, Islamic equestrian art reached a pinnacle in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly in the western Islamic world, and was therefore an especially pertinent artistic theme.⁴²

On the canteen, certain aspects of the horsemen composition—such as the rider turning in his saddle to aim at another horseman—may be attributed to aesthetic considerations and not to an act of war. The horsemen are most likely taking part in a parade before battle, an official mission or tournament, or a hunt.

³⁶ Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Skira, 1962), illustrations pp. 118 and 119. They are called *tus*.

³⁷ Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 46.

³⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, trans. from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal (New York, 1958), vol. 2, p. 50.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴² Cf. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, "Furusiyya" (equestrian knowledge). Jousting, for example, was an accepted sport of the time. Tournaments, sometimes including Saracen chiefs, were often held in the spring at the foot of Mt. Carmel in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Cf. William Miller, *Essays of the Latin Orient* (1921; Reprint ed., Amsterdam, 1964) p. 530.

Various decorative details on the canteen relate it to manuscript illumination. One of these is the use of "scroll folds" on the garments of the figures in all the scenes.⁴³ Those on the canteen are allied with the type of folds on Add. 7170 in the British Museum and can be seen on the garments of the Magi in the Nativity scene (*fig. 7*).

The meander pattern is too common and widespread to provide adequate evidence for dating and prototypes, but its occurrence is consistent with the parallels of Syrian manuscript illumination already noted. It appears, for example, in the Presentation in the Temple of Add. 7170 (*fig. 9*).

The zoomorphic tendril motif may be found among Armenian manuscript illumination. An especially close similarity exists between the pattern on the canteen (*fig. 1*) and that on the dedication page of FGA 44.17, fol. 13, of A.D. 1253 (*fig. 14*). In both instances, "chopped-up" animal and bird forms are scattered over the trellised surface of the design and appear to grow out of the foliage. The same type of animal as the canteen's human-headed creature appears separately on various pages of the manuscript, in one case perched on the frame of a portrait of Luke (*fig. 15*).

Are there any possible prototypes for the iconography of the entire program of Christian scenes on the Freer Canteen? A very interesting parallel exists in the pilgrim bottles known as the "Monza and Bobbio phials" (*fig. 16*). These date from the middle of the second half of the sixth century A.D. They are miniature canteens, generally used

to transport a small amount of blessed oil from the Holy Land. From inscriptions on them we know that they originated in Jerusalem and its surroundings.⁴⁴ They are decorated with Christian scenes in relief, sometimes one theme covering the entire surface, sometimes roundels surrounding a central scene, as on the Freer Canteen. Of particular interest here is the *dissimilarity* of themes to those on the canteen. The Nativity and Adoration of the Kings and Shepherds appear on both, but on the Monza phials we find most often the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, as these commemorate the two principal sanctuaries on and near Golgotha.⁴⁵ The Annunciation and Madonna and Child Enthroned also appear on both. On the phials, however, we find the Visitation, Baptism, Ascension—in other words, those themes dealing with the Incarnation cycle; these are absent from the Freer Canteen.

One reason for the omission is that certain scenes from the Passion would undoubtedly be avoided as inappropriate in the Muslim context, for while Mohammed accepted Christ's Ascension, he did not accept the Crucifixion. Islam regarded Christ as a Prophet or Messenger: "They are unbelievers who say, 'God is the Messiah, Mary's son'" (Koran V, 76), but "The Messiah, son of Mary, was only/a Messenger; Messengers before him/passed away; his mother was a just woman;/they both are food" (Koran V, 79).

Among manuscript illuminations, the scenes illustrated tended to correspond with the liturgical cycles of the Christian church, and to illustrate the corresponding feast

⁴³ Buchtal considers this a factor separating Syrian manuscript illumination from Greek, and thinks they are enfeebled versions of Islamic illumination from Northern Mesopotamia; "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites . . .," *Syria* (1939), p. 146.

⁴⁴ André Grabar, *Les Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1958), p. 13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

days. Among the miniatures of Vatican Syr. 559, for example, the largest paintings are reserved for the principal feasts: the Nativity, Baptism, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Ascension, Pentecost and Transfiguration.⁴⁶ (Among manuscripts studied by this writer, the Nativity and the Entry into Jerusalem occur with slightly greater frequency than the Presentation in the Temple.)

In Byzantine mosaic and fresco cycles, scenes from the Passion are usually separate and form a group. While the Nativity and Presentation may be shown in one grouping, the Entry into Jerusalem usually belongs later in the cycle, or as a prelude to the Passion.⁴⁷

Since Christ was considered a Prophet or Messenger, scenes from His life would be entirely suitable for inclusion on Islamic art objects. But the choice of themes on the canteen appears not to follow the program of any prototype in a logical sense. The artist, whether Christian or Muslim, must have had another purpose in mind. It seems most probable that the large scenes were chosen to refer to particular *sites*: the Nativity for Bethlehem, the Presentation in the Temple and the Entry into Jerusalem for that city.

There was a practice of showing "memoria" or part of the event commemorated at a sanctuary on Christian phials.⁴⁸ This

custom may well have inspired the artist of the Freer Canteen. Furthermore, a kind of cult of veneration for the holy places had come into being, reflected in the types of Syrian manuscript illustrations as early as the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels.⁴⁹

In sum, the evidence points to a reliance on a purely pictorial as opposed to a verbal tradition for the iconography of the canteen. Architectural features follow types familiar in the Islamic world through visual prototypes. The cycle of Christian scenes was not selected according to Biblical tradition or a particular sequence of feast days. Certain details, such as the presence of three animals behind the crèche and the basket without doves in the Presentation scene, ignore specific verbal tradition but fit in with a reliance on visual prototypes where such details could easily be misunderstood. Manuscript illumination seems the most likely source for the iconography of the Freer Canteen; furthermore, details such as the zoomorphic tendril design and "scroll folds" are to be found among manuscript illustrations.

It is known that pattern books were used by mediaeval artists.⁵⁰ This writer would like to suggest that a pattern book in the form of pages from a Syrian Gospel manuscript was used by the canteen's artist. Such a model could easily have incorporated the features of Islamic painting noted.

⁴⁶ Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, p. 298.

⁴⁷ Cf. Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1950), pls. 65 B and 68: Monreale.

⁴⁸ Grabar, *Les Ampoules*, p. 49. Grabar feels that although the subjects on the phials were conditioned by the places they commemorated, they were influenced more directly by small objects sent from Constantinople, as he sees no evidence for any other source (p. 50). For the more complex iconographical program of the Freer Canteen, however, small objects of Byzantine metalwork seem a very unlikely source.

⁴⁹ Cf. Ainalov, *Hellenistic Origins*, p. 84. A specific example from the 6th century is the Rabbula Gospels.

⁵⁰ Cf. R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963); also Kurt Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Chicago and London, 1971) (note especially pp. 20-44: "Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustrations"). D. S. Rice has suggested that there may have existed a pattern book for metalworkers ("Inlaid Brasses," p. 307).

III

What is the relationship of the Freer Canteen to other objects of Islamic metalwork, including those with Christian themes? The canteen belongs, first of all, to the group of Islamic metal objects inlaid with another metal, usually silver. It seems that the technique was not practised in the Islamic period before the twelfth century A.D. and is first represented by a pence of 541/1148 in the Hermitage, probably of Persian workmanship.⁵¹

Certain iconographic themes, however, occur almost simultaneously on Persian and western Islamic brasses. Through one of these themes, the frieze of horsemen, the canteen is related to Persian as well as to western Islamic examples. A case in point is an inkwell from the Harari Collection, in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo; it has been dated in the late twelfth century (*fig. 17*).⁵² A detail repeats the theme of the horseman turning in his saddle to aim his bow at another rider (*fig. 18*). The occurrence of this detail on a Persian brass supports the idea that no specific battle scene between Muslims and Crusaders is represented on the Freer Canteen.

The theme of horsemen is perhaps the most innately Islamic element of the canteen's iconography. On western Islamic brasses, it appears on a ewer by Ibrāhīm ibn Mawālīyā in the Louvre, dating to the

late twelfth-early thirteenth century⁵³ and on the d'Arenberg Basin (*fig. 19*).⁵⁴ In each case, the clothing of the horsemen is similar; and the riders proceed from right to left, which is also the direction of the script.⁵⁵

Among Syrian inlaid brasses, it has been shown that we do not possess an example earlier than the Ayyūbid period. The earliest appears to be the Kevorkian Ewer of 629/1232, in the Freer Gallery (*fig. 20*).⁵⁶ The decorative style of this ewer presents similarities to elements of the Freer Canteen. These include patterns of dots set in necklaces of connecting links; the ogival-shaped decorations on the body of the ewer, which are similar to the frames over the head of the saints on the canteen; the loose but methodically ordered network of interlacing tendrils as background decoration on both objects; and the motif of knots holding together two vines which then sprout in opposite directions.

Two other dated objects of the Ayyūbid period bear decorative similarities to the Freer Canteen. They are the "Barberini Vase," made for al-Malik al-Nāṣir of Aleppo (d. 658/1260),⁵⁷ and the "Louvre Basin," made for Sultan al-ʿĀdil II, Abū

⁵³ D. S. Rice, "SIMW" II, (*BSOAS*) (1953), XV/1, p. 12.

⁵⁴ The subject of polo-playing on the basin represents a favorite pastime of the patron for whom the object was made, al-Malik al-Sālih Najm al-Dīn. He had built near Cairo on the bank of the Nile a polo field to which he gave his name (Carl Diem, *Asiatische Reiterspiele* [Berlin, Deutscher Archiv-Verlag, n.d.], pp. 177-178).

⁵⁵ D. S. Rice has pointed out this phenomenon with regard to a bowl of Sunqur al-Aʿsar's daughter, belonging to the Benaki Museum in Athens and dating to the last two decades of the 13th century ("SIMW" I, *BSOAS* [1952], XIV/3, p. 570).

⁵⁶ Rice, "SIMW" II, *BSOAS* (1953), XV, pp. 66-69; "Inlaid Brasses," p. 324.

⁵⁷ Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," figs. 23 and 24.

⁵¹ Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," p. 284. He feels that such brasses originated in Persia and that the idea spread westward.

⁵² D. S. Rice, "Studies in Islamic Metal Work" I, *Bulletin of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS)* (1952), XIV/3, p. 571 for date and attribution to Persia.

Bakr, by Ahmad al-Dhakī al-Mawsilī, and dated 636–638/1238–1240.⁵⁸ The former is decorated with medallions with figures against a background of tendrils in neatly-patterned circular swirls. The design is rather tighter than that of the canteen, but the style is the same. The Louvre Basin has a double meander background pattern that is related to the borders of the same motif on the canteen, and the bands of tendril design are allied to the vine-like background on the canteen.

The zoomorphic tendril design on the canteen, discussed above in relation to manuscripts, also occurs in metalwork of the period. One example is the d'Arenberg Basin (*fig. 21*). Another is an Ayyūbid basin in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor, Michigan.⁵⁹ There is a fantastic animal on both the Michigan basin and the Freer Canteen that may be related to the *senmurv*.⁶⁰

The remaining decorative elements of the canteen continue the vocabulary of inlaid metalwork. The roundels containing seated figures holding the half-moon symbol, for example, are related to those of the "Wade Cup" in the Cleveland Museum.⁶¹ The motif appears on coins of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' (1233–59), the Zengid ruler of Mosul, causing some authors to see a specific connection between the piece and that

date and site.⁶² It has more recently and convincingly been shown, however, that this symbol does not denote a connection to either Mosul or to Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'.⁶³

The seated figures drinking or playing musical instruments—the "royal entertainment" theme—occurs continuously in Islamic metalwork.⁶⁴

The rather unusual "zoomorphic dance" (*fig. 22*) also links the canteen's iconography to the vocabulary of Islamic metalwork. This theme is most plausibly explained as a kind of dance during which men put on animal masks.⁶⁵ Ettinghausen relates such images particularly to the thirteenth century.⁶⁶

An early occurrence of the double meander motif in Islamic metalwork is on the Blacas Ewer of 629/1232, made in Mesopotamia (Mosul);⁶⁷ it also figures prominently on the Louvre Basin,⁶⁸ and the candlestick of Dā'ūd ibn Salāmah (*fig. 23*). Although related to this motif, the single meander pattern does not appear so frequently in metalwork.

IV

This use of Christian scenes on metalwork in the Islamic world is a relatively isolated phenomenon. Such themes on the Freer Canteen and other objects seem to make their appearance no earlier than the

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 6.

⁵⁹ Oleg Grabar has pointed out the relationship of the Ann Arbor basin's motif to that of the canteen and the d'Arenberg Basin ("Two Pieces of Islamic Metalwork at the University of Michigan," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 4 [1961], p. 365 and pl. 2, fig. 3).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 364 and n. 13.

⁶¹ Cf. D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Paris, 1955); Richard Ettinghausen, "The 'Wade Cup' in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Its Origin and Decorations," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 2 (1957), pp. 327–366.

⁶² Cf. Dimand, "Silver Inlaid Bronze Canteen," p. 21.

⁶³ Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," p. 321.

⁶⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, figs. 14 and 25; Cleveland Ewer.

⁶⁵ Richard Ettinghausen, "The Dance with Zoomorphic Masks," *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb* (Leiden, 1965), p. 217.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 220, cf. also Freer Gallery Files.

⁶⁷ Douglas Barrett, *Islamic Metalwork in the British Museum* (London, 1949), pl. 12.

⁶⁸ Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," pl. 6.

late twelfth-early thirteenth century and to be confined to a particular, restricted area. Then, sometime in the fourteenth century, they seem to have gone out of fashion.⁶⁹

Adding to the uniqueness of the Freer Canteen, even in the use of Christian scenes, is the monumentality and detail of the three main scenes: the Nativity, the Presentation and the Entry into Jerusalem. On most other examples of Islamic brasses, Christian themes appear to have been taken out of context. On the Homberg Ewer, for instance, St. Joseph from the Presentation scene, carrying the doves, has been singled out and placed with other saints under an arcade (*fig. 24*). On the candlestick of Dā'ūd ibn Salāmāh, the Presentation scene includes the principal figures, but they are crowded closely together with no indication of setting (*fig. 23*). The washing of the Child has been separated from the Nativity scene and again appears devoid of context (*fig. 25*).

An adoration with the Madonna enthroned appears on both the canteen and a pyxis in the Metropolitan Museum (*fig. 26*). The Madonna of the pyxis is turbaned, and her figure is distinctly Islamic in treatment.

Undoubtedly the most common Christian theme in Islamic metalwork is that of saints in arched compartments. This is a predominant motif of the candlestick of Dā'ūd ibn Salāmāh (*fig. 23*), the Metropolitan's pyxis (*fig. 27*), the Homberg Ewer (*fig. 28*), the d'Arenberg Basin (*fig. 21*), an incense burner in the British Mu-

seum (*fig. 29*), and a ewer in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris (where there is no arcade, however; *fig. 30*). The most logical reason for the dominance of this motif is the ease with which it could be adapted to the circular shapes of most Islamic brasses. The size and shapes of such brasses may indeed have been factors in the use of just a few figures taken from large iconographic programs. It is only the especially large size and unique shape of the Freer Canteen that permitted the inclusion of Gospel scenes *in toto*.

Why were Christian scenes used on Islamic objects, and were Christian or Muslim artists responsible for them? The artists were at first thought to be Christians working for Christian patrons.⁷⁰ Rice later revised his opinion on this problem on the basis of incongruities in the Christian iconography and the fact that themes were sometimes taken out of context.⁷¹ Indeed, at least one of these objects, the d'Arenberg Basin, was made for a Muslim patron and two other objects were signed by Muslim artists (see above, p. 137).

While a Christian artist familiar with the scriptures would probably not have used the Joseph from the Presentation scene alone, for example, detached from context, a Muslim artist would have no objection to a decorative use of Christian iconographic elements. One other factor must be considered, however. The errors and omissions in the inscription (see Appendix 2) indicate a somewhat illiterate artist. Therefore, even if a Christian, the author of the Freer Canteen was probably unacquainted with the finer points of Biblical tradition, as described in the texts.

⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 316. He believes they are all Syrian and mid-13th century in date.

⁷⁰ Cf. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "About a Type of Islamic Incense Burner," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 27 (1945), pp. 33-34; Rice, "The Seasons and the Labors of the Month," p. 34.

⁷¹ Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," p. 316.

If a Muslim artist was involved, the impetus to produce a work of art with Christian iconography, possibly for a Muslim patron, was undoubtedly encouraged by an intermingling of faiths on a social level in the Holy Land at the time of the Crusades. For example, there were Muslims in the Christian armies in the Latin Kingdom. These were called "Turcoples," a name originally applied to Turks born of Greek mothers. They formed part of the light cavalry in the armies.⁷² There were also native Christians of Arab speech known as "Syrians" who mixed well with the occupying Franks.⁷³

On account of the complexity of the social milieu and a lack of further evidence, therefore, it will probably never be possible to ascertain the religious persuasion of the canteen's artist. Even the nature of the inscriptions does not give us a clue (see Appendix 2). Errors and misspellings in inscriptions are not rare among other examples of Islamic decorative arts and may simply indicate the artist's relative illiteracy.

Stylistically, then, the canteen is related to other thirteenth-century brasses through the various abstract motifs, the frieze of horsemen, the saints in a colonnade and certain Biblical scenes; also through the seated figures holding half-moon symbols and those drinking or playing musical instruments. It fits into the vocabulary of the thirteenth century particularly through its dance with zoomorphic masks, and the very presence of Christian scenes, which appears to be a phenomenon of that period.

V

Based on the foregoing analysis, certain conclusions may be drawn as to the date and origin of the Freer Canteen. The canteen has frequently been connected with "Mosul" metalwork or with an artist coming from that site.⁷⁴ The term should be used with care, however. For example, works produced at Mosul and works signed by artists using the *nisbah* "al-Mawsili" are not identical, nor does the term even indicate a "Mosulian" style.⁷⁵ Indeed, the term "Mosul work" should probably be confined to six pieces produced in the capital of Mosul for Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'.⁷⁶

The Mesopotamian metalworking technique spread elsewhere, in part because of the Mongol conquest. With Persia, and subsequently Mosul, falling under the Mongol invaders in the thirteenth century, craftsmen migrated westward. Further, the craft declined in Mosul itself.⁷⁷

Is the style of the Freer Canteen of Mesopotamian or Syrian origin? This argument is too complex to be dealt with in detail here. The canteen does, however, fit into a certain stylistic vocabulary apparently typical of Syrian work. Some precise distinctions between the two styles have been drawn. Rice describes Mesopotamian brass vessels as "fluidly traced, roughly undercut, and deeply hatched with closely applied nervous punches." Ayyūbid Syrian

⁷⁴ See note 62.

⁷⁵ Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," p. 286.

⁷⁶ D. S. Rice, "The Brasses of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'," *BSOAS* (1950), XIII/3, p. 627. Rice has listed the works made by artists with the *nisbah* al-Mawsili—twenty-eight in number—finds that the majority of these objects were made in Syria or Egypt ("Inlaid Brasses," pp. 286 and 326).

⁷⁷ Cf. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," p. 285.

⁷² Miller, *Essays of the Latin Orient*, p. 527.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 526.

pieces, on the other hand, have contours that are "precise and dry. They are traced more deliberately and perpendicularly and the undercutting is more meticulous. Tightly rolled scrolls and spirals make their appearance in this type of work. . . ." ⁷⁸ The contours of the canteen are certainly more precise and dry than fluidly traced; and there are very tight, minute scrolls as background filler for large areas of the object. Other background filler, specifically that found on the flat side (*fig. 2*), consists of precise vine scrolls.

The ornamental meander pattern borders and the small roundels containing a double meander pattern are characteristic of Syrian metalwork of the Ayyūbid period. Although beginning in Mesopotamia, the double meander pattern is common in Syrian metalwork and is typical of the tersely decorative and formal nature of abstract designs from this area.

Certain animate aspects of the canteen's decorative scheme, such as the frieze of horsemen, also fit into the Syrian Ayyūbid context: "hunting scenes are retained but tend to become decorative friezes rather than pictorial panels. Battle scenes, almost completely absent from truly Mesopotamian works . . . become very popular on Syrian Ayyūbid work and even more so in Mamlūk work." ⁷⁹

Concerning the date of the canteen, its relationship to dated inlaid brasses such as the d'Arenberg Basin, places it in the mid-thirteenth century. To be more specific, I would like to suggest that it be placed between 1235 and 1250. The three dated

pieces with Christian scenes fall within this period, and I have attempted to point out similarities with the canteen. Further, in support of a date before 1250, we may refer to Rice's thesis concerning the division of decor on brasses. He notes that "only early early Mesopotamian pieces and the Louvre basin made by Dhakī have decors made up of uneven numbers of components," and that "later pieces have decors divided into components of even number." ⁸⁰ The decorative scheme of the Freer Canteen consists principally of uneven components: the major scenes of Christian iconography are three in number, interspersed with three roundels of zoomorphic tendrils; on the other side of the canteen are twenty-five saints and nine horsemen. The only exception to this rule is the even number, thirty, of small medallions circling one of the bands on the shoulder of the canteen.

Further, the manuscripts to which the iconography of the Freer Canteen seem most closely related are not only Syrian but are dated in the thirteenth century. Vatican Syr. 559 was executed in the Mar Matthai monastery near Ninevah, a stronghold of the Jacobite church. ⁸¹ This manuscript is dated 1219–20. Leroy believes that British Museum Add. 7170, dated ca. 1220, may have been executed in the Mar Ḥanania monastery of Mardin, which was founded in A.D. 793 and in the thirteenth century was the seat of the Jacobite patriarchate. ⁸²

VI

For what purpose was the Freer Canteen made? And what is the significance of its

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 323. Recurrences of themes and decorative details in metalwork point strongly to the use of pattern books. See note 50.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁸¹ Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, pp. 301–302.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 313.



FIG. 1.—THE FREER CANTEEN. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 2.—THE FREER CANTEEN.



FIG. 3.—THE FREER CANTEEN.



FIG. 4.—THE FREER CANTEEN. Detail: the Nativity.



FIG. 5.—THE FREER CANTEEN. Detail: the Presentation in the Temple.



FIG. 6.—THE FREER CANTEEN. Detail: the Entry into Jerusalem.

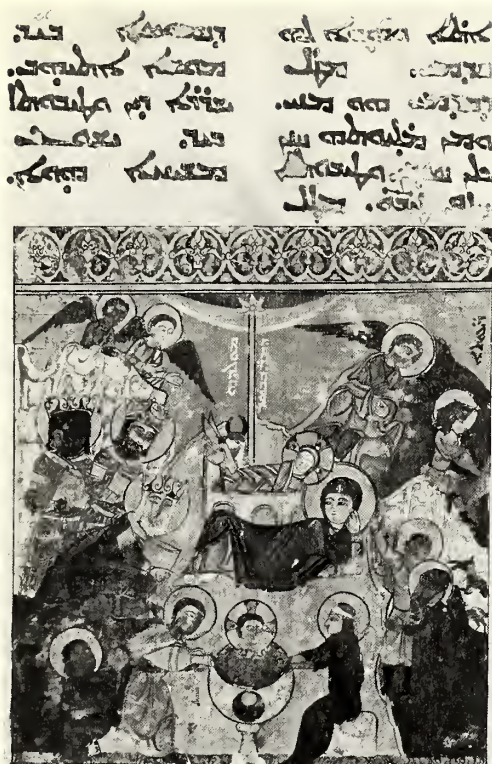


FIG. 7.—THE NATIVITY. British Museum Add. 7170. Courtesy, British Museum.



FIG. 8.—THE NATIVITY. Vatican Syr. 559. Courtesy, the Vatican.



FIG. 9.—THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE. British Museum, Add. 7170. Courtesy, British Museum.

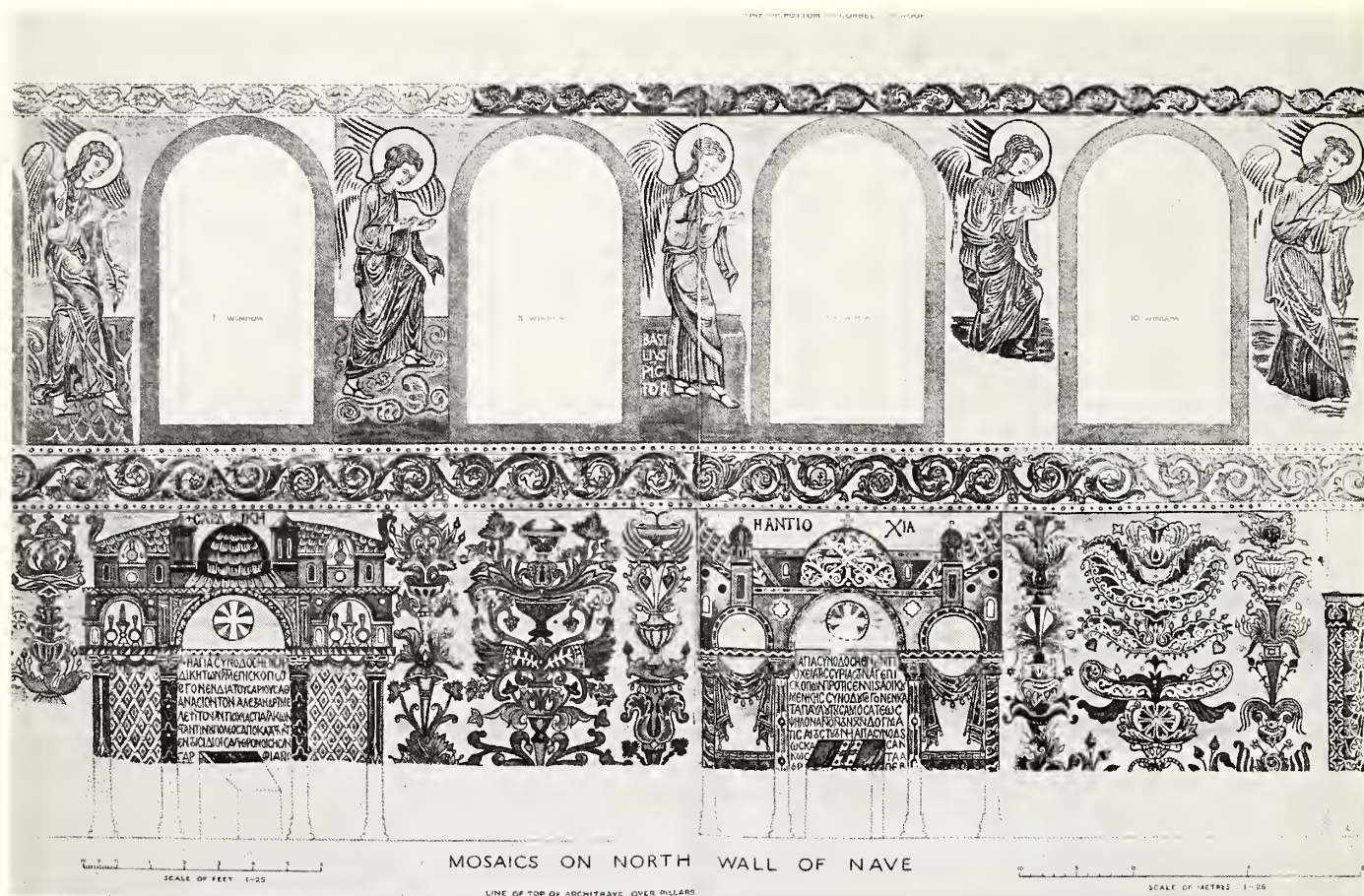


FIG. 10.—Drawing of mosaic from north wall of nave, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem (after W. Harvey et al., *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*).



FIG. 11.—ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM. British Museum Or. 3372. Courtesy, British Museum.



FIG. 12.—Drawing of mosaic from east wall of south transept, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem (after W. Harvey et al., *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*).



FIG. 13.—THE ANNUNCIATION. Vatican Syr. 559.
Courtesy, the Vatican.



FIG. 14.—Freer Gallery of Art, 44.17, fol. 13.

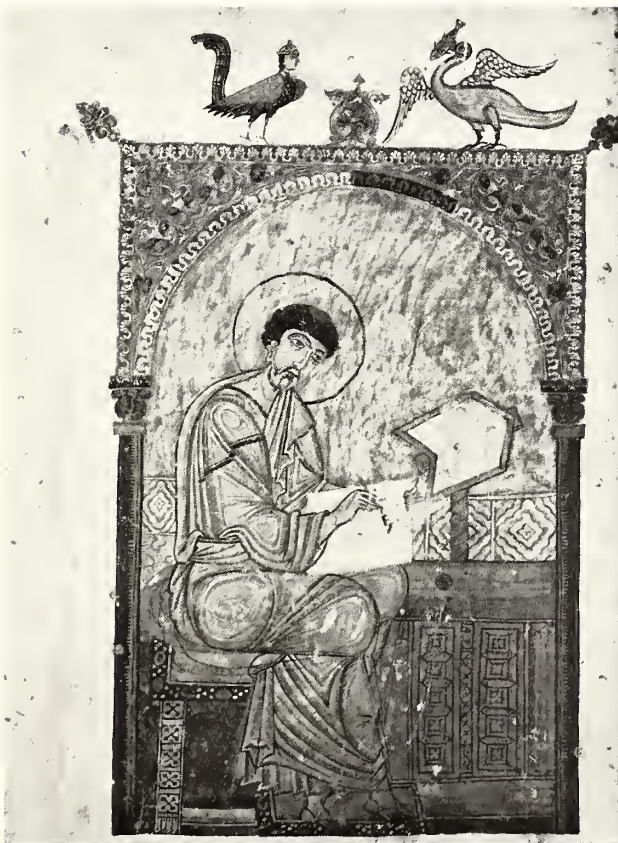


FIG. 15.—Freer Gallery of Art, 50.3, fol. 129.



FIG. 16.—PHIAL from Cathedral at Monza.
Courtesy, Hirmer Fotoarchiv.



FIG. 17.—INKWELL. Harari Collection, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo (photograph, courtesy, L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art).



FIG. 18.—INKWELL. Harari Collection, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo. Detail (photograph, courtesy, L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art).



FIG. 19.—D'ARENBERG BASIN. Detail. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 21.—D'ARENBERG BASIN. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 22.—THE FREER CANTEEN. Detail.

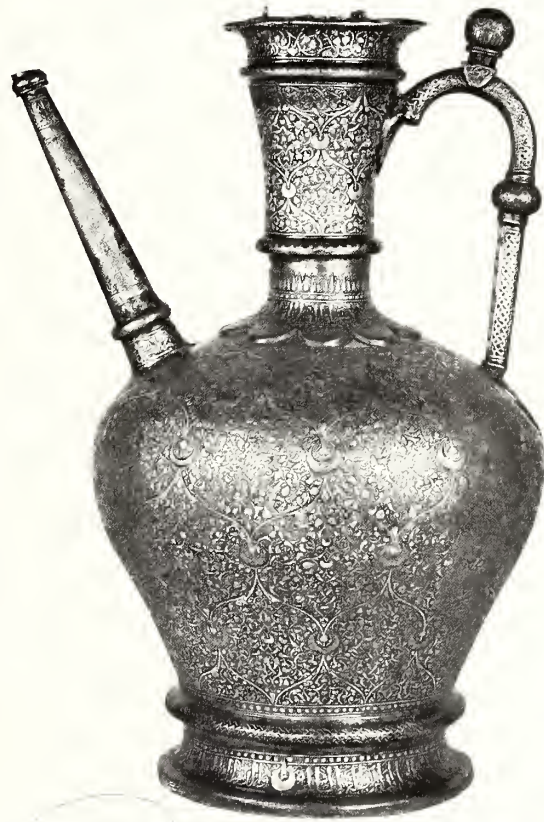


FIG. 20.—KEVORKIAN EWER. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 23.—CANDLESTICK. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (photograph, courtesy, L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art).



FIG. 24.—HOMBERG EWER. Detail. Kofler Collection, Lucerne. Courtesy, Collection Kofler-Truniger, Luzern.

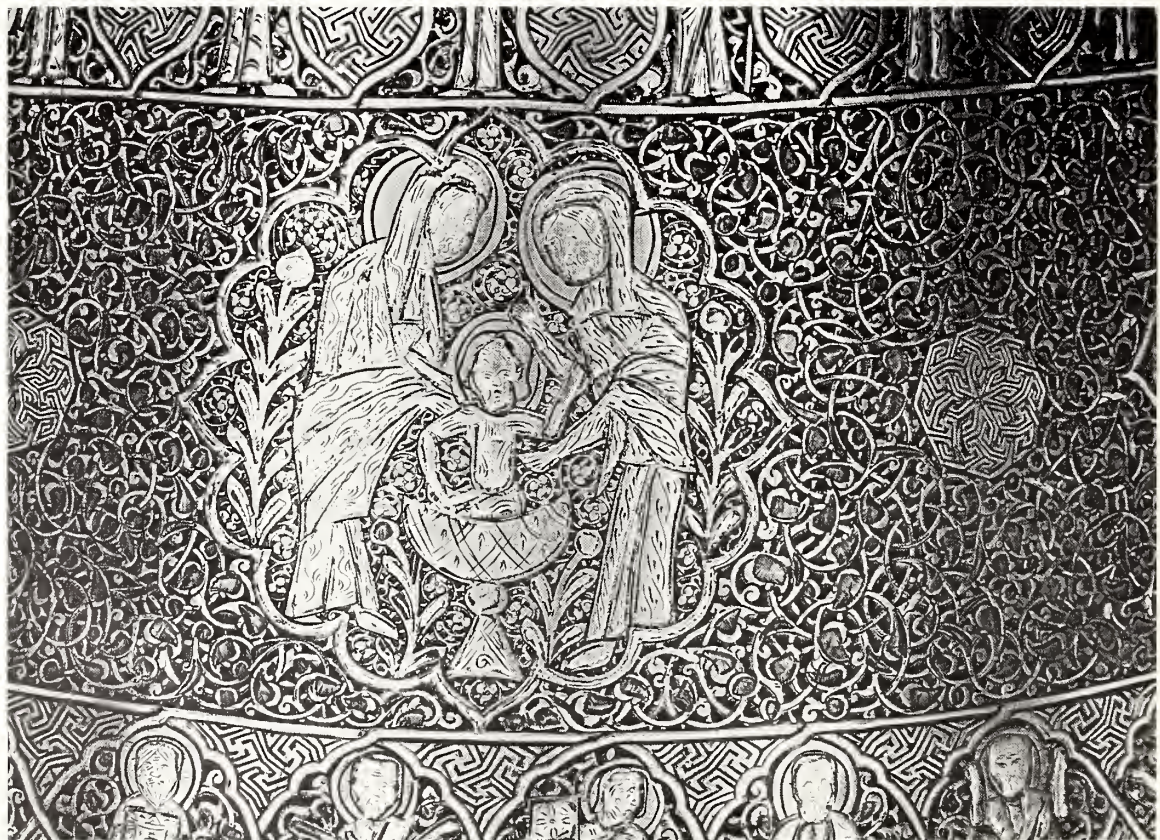


FIG. 25.—CANDLESTICK. Detail. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (photograph, courtesy, L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art).



FIG. 26.—LID OF A PYXIS. Metropolitan Museum of Art (photograph, courtesy, L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art).



FIG. 27.—PYXIS. Metropolitan Museum of Art (photograph, courtesy, L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art).



FIG. 28.—HOMBERG EWER. Kofler Collection, Lucerne.
Courtesy, Collection Kofler-Truniger, Luzern.



FIG. 29.—INCENSE BURNER. British Museum (photograph, courtesy, L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art).



FIG. 30.—EWER. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.
Courtesy, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.



FIG. 31.—CANTEEN. Ming period. Freer Gallery of Art.



FIG. 32.—CANTEEN, unglazed, from Aleppo, Syria.
Victoria and Albert Museum.
Courtesy, Victoria and Albert Museum.

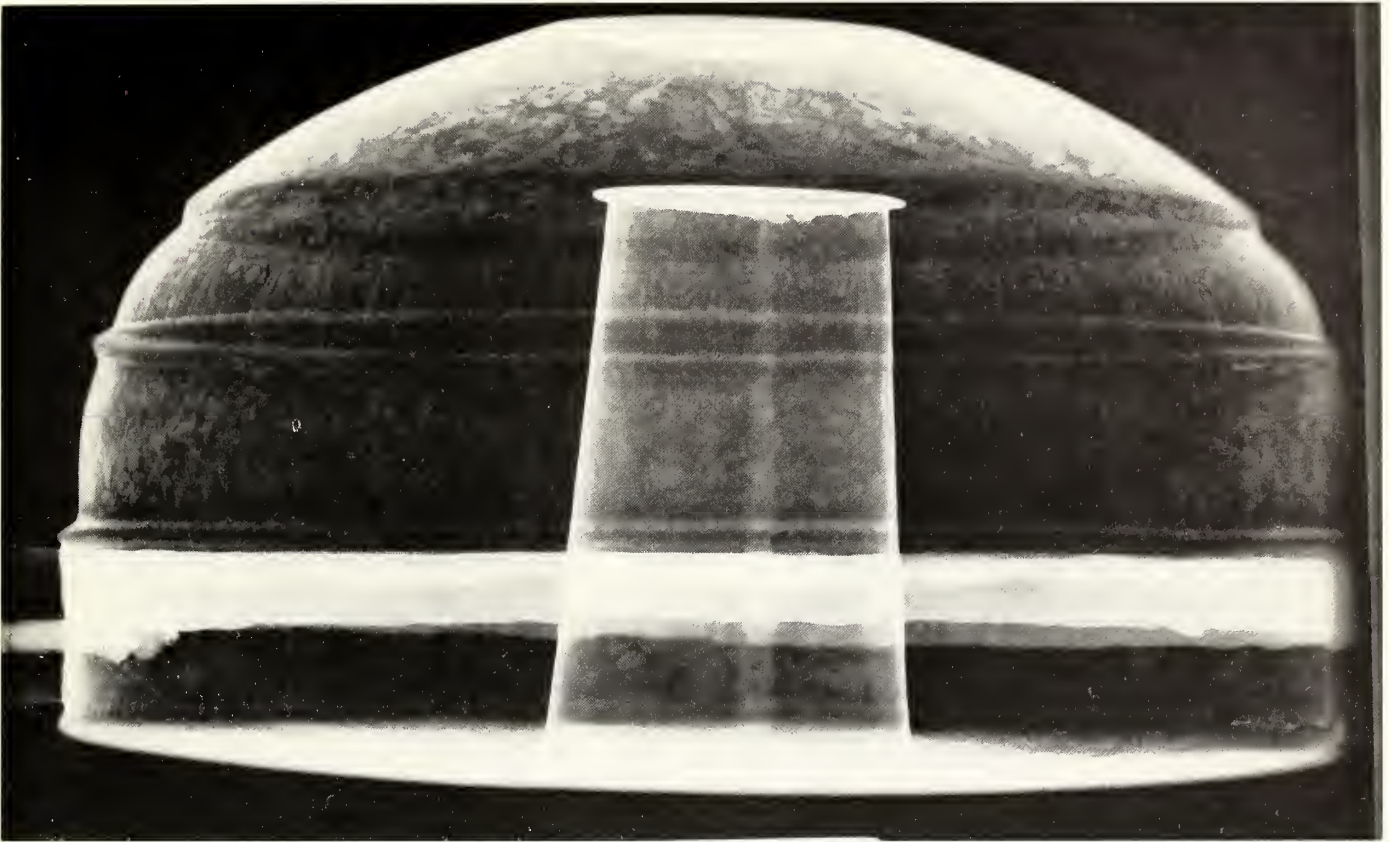
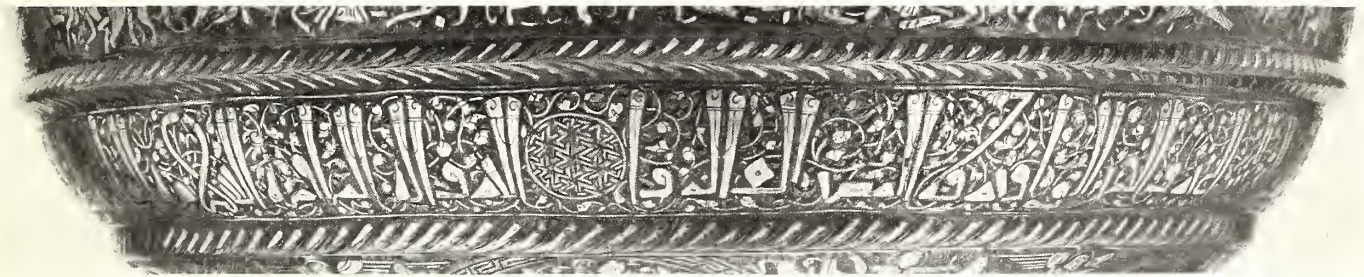


FIG. 33.—THE FREER CANTEEN. Radiograph, courtesy, Naval Ordnance Laboratory.



FIGS. 34 and 35.—Inscriptions on shoulder of the Freer Canteen.



FIGS. 36-39.—Inscriptions on shoulder of the Freer Canteen.



FIGS. 40-43.—Inscription on spout of the Freer Canteen.

unique character? We shall probably never know if the canteen was made for a particular patron, or whether he was Muslim or Christian.⁸³ It is possible that some pieces without owners' names in the inscriptions could have been made for a general market and not for a specific person, as, according to the Geography of Ibn Sa'id, inlaid brasses made in Mosul were exported and given to rulers.⁸⁴ He implies that, while the objects were sumptuous and fit for princely owners, they were intended for such a market in general and not for one particular patron. This assumption is borne out by the fact that we have pieces of very high quality both with and without an owner's name. Our canteen is a case in point.

Another possibility is that the canteen was a gift, although not necessarily a ceremonial one. Perhaps it was given to a Crusader or new settler by a native-born Christian or Muslim. There were also numerous specific occasions in the relationship between Christians and Muslims which might have given rise to the exchange of gifts. Al-Maqrīṣī tells us that in 638/1240 Saladin "made an offensive and defensive alliance with the Franks of Syria," and allowed them to buy arms in Damascus.⁸⁵ We also learn from al-Maqrīṣī's account that Saladin's

troops joined with Frankish troops in 641/1243 to make war on Egypt. According to the author, "this was the first time the standards of the Christians, on which was a cross, were seen intermixed with those of Musulmen."⁸⁶ Perhaps it was such an occasion that called for a gift of friendship between the two allies—such as the canteen.

Sumptuous though it is, the Freer Canteen appears to have been intended for practical use as well as for a symbolic one.⁸⁷ The canteen is quite large and when filled with liquid would have been extremely heavy, possibly too heavy to be portable by a single person. The truncated pit, however, shows signs of wear, and was undoubtedly the means by which the piece was steadied, as on a wooden pivot, for pouring. This is the manner in which canteens were used in at least some areas of the Islamic world. Dr. Richard N. Frye has reported seeing canteens placed by means of these pits on the horizontal arms of vertical posts. He noted this phenomenon in the vicinity of Samarkand.⁸⁸ If the Freer Canteen were not intended for practical purposes, there would have been no need for this deep pit.⁸⁹

An interesting and unique parallel to the Freer Canteen is a Ming blue-and-white piece, also in the Freer Gallery of Art (*fig. 31*).⁹⁰ This canteen has a very slight, token depression on one side in place of a real pit. This, together with its large size and the

⁸³ Objects were made for both Christian and Muslim patrons; cf. Aga-Oglu, "Incense Burner," p. 35. Rice ("Inlaid Brasses," p. 316), however, feels that the patrons as well as the artists were unlikely to have been Christian.

⁸⁴ Cf. D. S. Rice's interpretation of this passage, which he was the first to publish: "Inlaid Brasses," pp. 283–284 and n. 9.

⁸⁵ Al-Maqrīṣī, "The Road to Knowledge of the Reigns of Kings," in *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London, 1848), p. 536. The buying of arms by Crusaders mentioned here emphasizes the difficulty in identifying figures on the canteen as Muslim or Christian on the basis of the arms, armor or banners they bear.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 539.

⁸⁷ Dr. Esin Atil has made the interesting suggestion that it could have been intended for a church (personal communication).

⁸⁸ Personal communication.

⁸⁹ Smaller, porcelain canteens could be used without a pivot; cf. John A. Pope, "An Early Ming Porcelain in Muslim Style," *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1959), pl. 4A.

⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

fact that one side is undecorated, suggests a purely decorative function.

There does not appear to be any other metalqork pilgrim bottle from the Islamic period in existence. The shape did exist in Islamic pottery, however. P.J. Riis compares a small group of ceramic canteens, excavated at Hamā in Syria, with the Freer Canteen.⁹¹ These are smaller, generally about 15 cm. high, have hollow depressions in the center, and are quite similar to the Freer piece in shape. Neither these, which Riis ascribes to the thirteenth century,⁹² nor the later ones⁹³ show any scene relatable to the Christian themes of the Freer Canteen. Often purely abstract incised designs, the motifs occasionally include a human figure or fantastic beast.

Another canteen, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is of unglazed pottery and dates from the thirteenth-fourteenth century (*fig. 32*). It was found near Aleppo, Syria. Arthur Lane has noted that "big drum-shaped 'pilgrim bottles' seem peculiar to Mesopotamia and Syria."⁹⁴ Thus the canteen in the Freer Gallery follows a tradition in its shape, even though no further examples of brass canteens from the Islamic period have come to light.⁹⁵

The Freer Canteen is a study in contrasts: it is both conservative (in its choice of

themes), and revolutionary (in the unusual juxtaposition of Christian and Islamic themes). It is traditional in shape but unique in the combination of this shape with the iconography involved, during the Islamic period. It seems that what results here is a new contrast of the sacred-secular, brought about largely by a lack of explicit Muslim iconography relating to the Crusades. Specifically, the idea of sacred spiritual introspection—in the form of the row of saints and the Gospel scenes—is juxtaposed against secular activity in the form of horsemen, the dance with animal masks, the revelers and the zoomorphic tendril motif.

While much of the Christian material is inherent to the area which produced the canteen, it was the force of the Crusades which brought this iconography into meaningful interplay with works being produced at the time in the Near East. This new vocabulary was also related in a very particular way to the Crusades. The Gospel scenes on the canteen all related to specific places in the Holy Land. In other words, like the sixth-century phials brought back to Europe by pilgrims, the Freer Canteen is commemorative in nature, although its actual use may have been secular. The Nativity takes place in Bethlehem, the Presentation occurs in Jerusalem, and the Entry into Jerusalem shows the arrival of Christ in that city. Bethlehem and Jerusalem: the most vital areas, idealistically, in the eyes of Crusaders, and the goal of pilgrims, these towns provide a most appropriate frame of reference for a "pilgrim bottle." Through its shape, iconography and purpose, the Freer Canteen thus symbolizes the intermingling of political, social and artistic forces in the Near East of the thirteenth century.

⁹¹ P. J. Riis and Vagn Poulsen, *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches 1931-1938*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Copenhagen, 1957), p. 258.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 258 and figs. 934-939.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, figs. 879-933.

⁹⁴ Arthur Lane, *Early Islamic Pottery* (London, 1958), pp. 27-28.

⁹⁵ Richard Ettinghausen has noted the existence during Parthian and Sasanian times of pottery canteens with flat and bulging sides (Freer Gallery Files). Cf. also N. C. Delevoise, *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1934), fig. 301; S. Langdon-D. B. Harden, "Excavations at Kish and Barghuthiat," *Iraq*, vol. 1 (1933), fig. 1, no. 24.

APPENDIX 1

TECHNICAL NOTES: THE FREER CANTEEN
BY W.T. CHASE

The object is made from brass sheet, rather thin. Two samples were taken from the piece for analysis; one on the exterior near the back in a spot where a piece of silver inlay had been lost, and the other inside the suspension hole at the center back of the piece. Both were removed by milling with a dental burr; about 70 milligrams of fine, yellow metallic chips were removed for analysis after cleaning the surface in each spot. The analyses are shown in Table I.¹

TABLE I
ANALYSES
41.10 Syrian Canteen

	Exterior Near Crack	Inside Center Hole
Cu	81.7%	84.0%
Sn	none detected	none detected
Pb	1.4	1.4
Fe	1.2	0.7
Zn	15.2	12.8
Total	99.5%	98.9%

Analyst: Ilona V. Bene, April 3, 1972. Freer Gallery Laboratory.

Both pieces are of brass sheet. The compositions differ slightly, and the amount of difference is greater than the experimental error of the procedure; but it is impossible to say without further analyses whether the

difference is due to local segregation within the sheet or an actual difference in composition between the two sheets sampled. In any case, the object is made from brass sheet inlaid with silver.

The construction is clearly revealed by the radiographs, which were taken at the Naval Ordinance Laboratory, White Oak, Maryland (*fig. 33*).² The canteen is made from two main pieces: one forms the spherical part of the body and extends down to the third rope-patterned band from the top in the X-ray; the second forms the flat part of the body and the lower portions of the cylindrical side. These two are joined with solder which is clearly seen as a light, bubbly band on the X-ray. The central insert is also made from two pieces. It is capped with a piece of flat sheet, and the hole is formed from a conical piece soldered up from a sheet. The solder joint is visible as a light, vertical band on the X-ray. The handles, neck, and bulb-like spout are also separate pieces, soldered on. One of the handles has a slightly different design and patina and may be newer than the rest of the piece. There are also small spots of solder on the inside of the canteen which mark areas of repair (not visible on this X-ray). The piece has been polished with silver polish.

The late Herbert Maryon examined the canteen at the Freer in 1954. He noticed the soldered seam in the body. He was especially interested in the inlay technique; the recesses for the inlaid silver plates are chiseled out, with the chiselling rather deeper along the outline. The silver plates were laid into the recesses and the edges of both silver and bronze beaten down with small punches. The inlaid plates were then decorated with chased work, and the nar-

¹ The analyses were done with the procedure outlined in *The Freer Chinese Bronzes, Volume 2, Technical Studies* (Rutherford J. Gettens, Washington, 1969), i.e. a wet chemical method.

² The radiographs were taken at 250 kilovolts, 10 milliamps, one minute exposure on Eastman Type R film. The tube-to-film distance was six feet.

rower lines in the body chased and filled with silver wire. The edges of both silver and metal were hammered down as above.

APPENDIX 2

INSCRIPTIONS: THE FREER CANTEEN

Dr. George C. Miles of the American Numismatic Society and his colleague Michael L. Bates have provided the following transcriptions and translations of the inscriptions on the Freer Canteen:

1. Band around central Madonna and Child, beginning to left of roundel above Madonna's head (*fig. 1*):

العز الدائم والعمر السالم وا (roundel)
 الجد الصاعد والدولة الباقي (sic?) (roundel)
 والسلامة الغالبية (?) وال...الم (sic)

Translation:

Continuing glory and peaceful life and a- [sic] (roundel) ascending earnestness and lasting (?) power (roundel) and abundant (?) welfare, and

2. Outer band, beginning at roundel to the right of the angel to the right in the Presentation scene (*figs. 34-39*):

الدولة (sic) العافية السلامة الغالبية (?)
 النعمة الخالد (sic) و اكرامة الكاملة الصا
 العز الدائم والعمر (roundel) (sic)
 السالم و الشاملة والجد الصاعد واليمن
 اله عة والنعمة الخالد (roundel)
 [or الدائم] والمعيش العافية
 والمصر (?) العالم (?) وا (roundel)

Translation:

Power [misspelled], health, peace, victory (?), perpetual favour, and consummate munificence, *al-ṣa*—[perhaps intended for the beginning of *li-ṣāhibihi*, “to its owner”] (roundel); continuing glory and peaceful life and . . . universal, and ascending earnestness, and good fortune (roundel); . . . and perpetual [or continuing?] favour (?), and life . . .; health and *al-ʿasr* (?) of the world (?), and [sic] (roundel).

3. Spout (*figs. 40-43*):

Two of the words may be **الاكرام** and **العافية**, “honor” and “health.” *Naskhi*.

The two major inscriptions are in *kūfic* letters. Uncertainty regarding the decipherment of some of the words has been indicated in the translations. Dr. Miles regrets that he was not able to devote the time to a stylistic analysis of the epigraphy. He is confident, however, that there is no inscription in the “animated” band on the shoulder of the canteen (*fig. 22*).

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